The Grammar of Irish English

Language in Hibernian style

Markku Filppula

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THE GRAMMAR OF IRISH ENGLISH

Irish English, also termed 'Anglo-Irish' or 'Hiberno-English', as in this book, is not usually perceived as having a grammatical system of its own. Markku Filppula here challenges this misconception and offers a descriptive and contact-linguistic account of the grammar of Hiberno-English.

Drawing on a wide range of authentic materials documenting Hiberno-English dialects past and present Filppula examines:

- the most distinctive grammatical features of these dialects
- relationships with earlier and other regional varieties of English
- the continuing influence of the Irish language on Hiberno-English
- similarities between Hiberno-English and other Celtic-influenced varieties of English spoken in Scotland and Wales

The Grammar of Irish English is a comprehensive empirical study which will be an essential reference for scholars of Hiberno-English and of value to all those working in the field of Germanic linguistics.

Markku Filppula is Professor of English at the University of Joensuu and Docent in English Philology at the University of Helsinki. He was awarded his PhD by the National University of Ireland in 1986 and has gone on to publish widely on Hiberno-English and language contacts.

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PREFACE

Twenty Years A-Growing is the English title of the famous autobiography by Maurice O'Sullivan (Muiris Ó Súilleabháin), the Irish writer, who in this book recounts the story of his childhood on the Blasket Islands off the west coast of Kerry. I purchased a copy of this book in Dublin some twenty years ago, when I started collecting material for my doctoral thesis, eventually presented to the National University of Ireland some nine years later. I remember the language of O'Sullivan's book making a profound impression on me, so much so that a year or so later I ventured to tackle the Irish original, entitled *Fiche Blian ag Fás* (lit. 'twenty years at growing'). Even the tiny knowledge of Irish that I had sufficed to reveal what lay behind the curious sentence structures used by the translator. Many of these features were to emerge over and over again in my reading of works by other Irish writers and, what was particularly intriguing, also in the speech of Irish people. Little did I know at the time that this fascination I had for the English of the Irish— 'Hiberno-English' (HE) in linguistic jargon—would not wear away over the years but would keep me travelling back and forth between Finland and Ireland. Now, after some twenty years, my project, which began as an attempt to interpret certain distinctive features of the information structure of present-day HE speech (reported in my 1986 dissertation), has grown in all directions and evolved into a synchronic and historical-comparative study embracing not only the Irish dialects of English but their relationships with other English dialects and the history of English in general. A similar expansion has taken place in my overall theoretical approach: although my work falls squarely within the 'non-generative' linguistic paradigm, certain ideas and concepts expounded in generative or 'universalist' theories have turned out to be useful, and I have not hesitated to exploit them despite the risk of being accused of eclecticism.

The writing of this book has been financially supported by the Humanities and Social Sciences Section of the Academy of Finland, which provided me with a one-year Senior Research Fellowship enabling me to work full-time on this project in Dublin in the academic year 1996–97. The Irish Government, the Department of Education, and the Irish Embassy in Finland (in association with the Finnish Ministry of Education) have also significantly contributed to my project by granting two short-term Grants for Visiting Scholars in 1994 and

1995. My own university and Department in Joensuu have provided me with a secure base without which I could not have embarked on this lengthy project.

I also acknowledge the continuing support I have received over the years from the Department of Old and Middle English in University College Dublin. My liaison with UCD began when I spent my first year in Dublin as an exchange student in 1975–76. It continued in 1982 when I started my PhD studies there under the supervision of the late Professor Alan J.Bliss. His premature passing away in 1985 deprived me of the opportunity to benefit from his vast knowledge of the history of English and Hiberno-English for the purposes of this book, but, fortunately, I have been able to maintain a close link with UCD thanks to the other members of staff, and most especially to Professor Terence Dolan and Dr Peter Lucas. Not only did they teach me Old and Middle English during my very first year of study in UCD, but they have also made it possible for me to use the Department as a convenient base for my research work over all these years. To Terence Dolan I owe special thanks for reading and commenting on a draft chapter on article usage in HE and for numerous discussions on other points of HE grammar and various problems relating to this book (including its title). Karen Corrigan, a recent doctoral graduate of the Department, has read and presented valuable comments on a chapter on subordinating uses of *and*. The Department of Irish Folklore has rendered me invaluable services in making available unique research material, for which I wish to thank Professors Bo Almqvist and Seamas Ó Catháin. The Department of Linguistics at UCD has also helped me along in many ways. The late Professor Conn Ó Cléirigh always took a keen interest in my research and patiently advised me on matters of Irish syntax. Cathal Doherty has shared with me his extensive knowledge of both Irish and HE syntax, and pointed out several useful sources which I would have otherwise missed, e.g. on relative clauses and V2 properties of English and Irish. To Vera Capková I am grateful for her kind invitation to give a guest lecture in the Linguistics Department in the spring of 1997, which helped to clarify my thoughts on the question of 'unbound' reflexives. Fiona Fay and Mary Shepherd, both graduates of the same Department, have willingly answered my queries about HE usages and some of their sociolinguistic aspects, in particular.

To Dónall Ó Baoill of The Linguistic Institute of Ireland I owe an enormous debt of gratitude for the generous loan of his rare combination of native-Irish intuition and thorough linguistic knowledge of Irish and HE grammar. He has spared no effort in looking through my data and answering my endless questions about the Irish usages. Diarmuid Ó Sé of the same Institute, and latterly of the Department of Modern Irish in UCD, has also shared with me his insights into the complexities of the tense and aspect systems of Irish and HE and various other points of Irish and HE grammar. Jeffrey Kallen of Trinity College Dublin has for many years been another indispensable source of information in matters dealing with tense and aspect and problems of syntax more generally. To Professor Anders Ahlqvist of University College Galway I am grateful for the advice he has given me over the years on Irish syntax, past and present, and for the opportunity to give a visiting lecture in Galway in December 1995.

John Harris of University College London has offered continuous support for my project in the form of inspiring discussions on all aspects of HE. Many's the time he and his wife Monica have provided hospitality and shelter for the road-weary biker in their home at all ungodly hours. Another base in England has been the University of Leeds, and I am very grateful to Juhani Klemola for the hours he has spent with me discussing problems of dialectal syntax, and also for his help in arranging access to the Survey of English Dialects (SED) archives and tapes in Leeds. He has also read a draft chapter on periphrastic *do,* and provided me with valuable comments. I also wish to thank the Chairmen of the School of English of the University of Leeds, Professor John Barnard and Mr David Lindley, for permission to use the SED database and the facilities of the School during my visits there in August 1996 and April 1997.

My Welsh colleague Professor Alan Thomas of the University of Wales Bangor must be thanked for invaluable data on points of Welsh and Welsh English syntax. I am also indebted to Siobhán Cottell for her interest in my work and for fruitful exchange of ideas about problems associated with clefting and other focusing devices. Similarly, my American colleagues Terence Odlin and Michael Montgomery deserve my warmest thanks. It was Terence Odlin who introduced me to Hebridean English and its relevance to the case of Hiberno-English; he also directed me to look for suitable data on that variety. Michael Montgomery has advised me on the use of Irish emigrants' letters as a source of linguistic evidence and has also gone to the trouble of reading and commenting on a draft chapter on subject-verb concord.

I wish to thank The Council of Trustees of the National Library of Ireland for permission to use its collections of manuscripts. Similar thanks are due to The Board of Trinity College Dublin for access to, and permission to quote from, various sequences of nineteenth-century letters in their keeping. I also wish to thank Ms Rosemary O'Connell for permission to use the private correspondence of the Oldham family, now in the possession of the Manuscripts Department of Trinity College Dublin, and to have a page from one of the letters photographed and used as an illustration for this book. Special thanks go to The Green Studio for carrying out the photographic work as well as to Stuart Ó Seanóir and other members of staff in the Manuscripts Department, who gave me much useful information and helped me in various ways. David Fitzpatrick of the Department of Modern History in Trinity College and Cork University Press most kindly let me use some of the sequences of nineteenth-century emigrant letters included in the book *Oceans of Consolation* (Cork University Press 1994) as a source of data for this study. Similar thanks are due to The Department of Finance and The Stationery Office, Dublin, for permission to include in the map of Ireland the boundaries of the Gaeltacht Areas, as presented in the book *A View of the Irish Language* (edited by Brian Ó Cuív, The Stationery Office 1969). I must also thank John Benjamins Publishing Company for permission to quote dialect material from Martyn F.Wakelin's book *The Southwest of England* (John Benjamins 1986). The staff at the Library of the Royal Irish Academy have also been extremely

helpful in making their rare collections available to me and providing a unique atmosphere for research. I am especially grateful to Íde Ní Thuama for her patient assistance in my efforts to trace some of the early HE texts. Niamh Martin of the Central Statistics Office kindly sent me some vital statistics produced by the 1996 Census on the numbers and levels of proficiency of Irish speakers.

I must further thank The School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh for permission to use their Hebridean English materials. Margaret Mackay and Rhona Talbot provided me with all possible help with the tapes and transcripts of the recordings during my visit there in September 1996. Similar services were rendered for me by David Clement during my first visit to the School of Scottish Studies in May 1991. Professor J.Derrick McClure of the University of Aberdeen has kindly advised me on various points of Scots and Scottish English grammar. Professor Colm Ó Baoill and Dr Caroline Macafee of the same University have given me assistance on the question of possible Gaelic influence on Scots and Scottish English. While I gratefully acknowledge the help given to me by all those mentioned above, I hasten to stress that I alone remain responsible for whatever errors or shortcomings there may remain in this book.

In Joensuu, I am grateful to all my colleagues in the English Department. Kirsi Hiltunen and Esa Penttilä made a significant contribution to the building of the computer-readable corpora. Jopi Nyman has given me invaluable assistance in compiling the bibliography for this book, as have Mikko Vento in drawing the map of Ireland, and Juhani Luhtanen in producing the figure showing the long-term developments of *have*-perfects. John Stotesbury has patiently advised me on matters of standard English grammar.

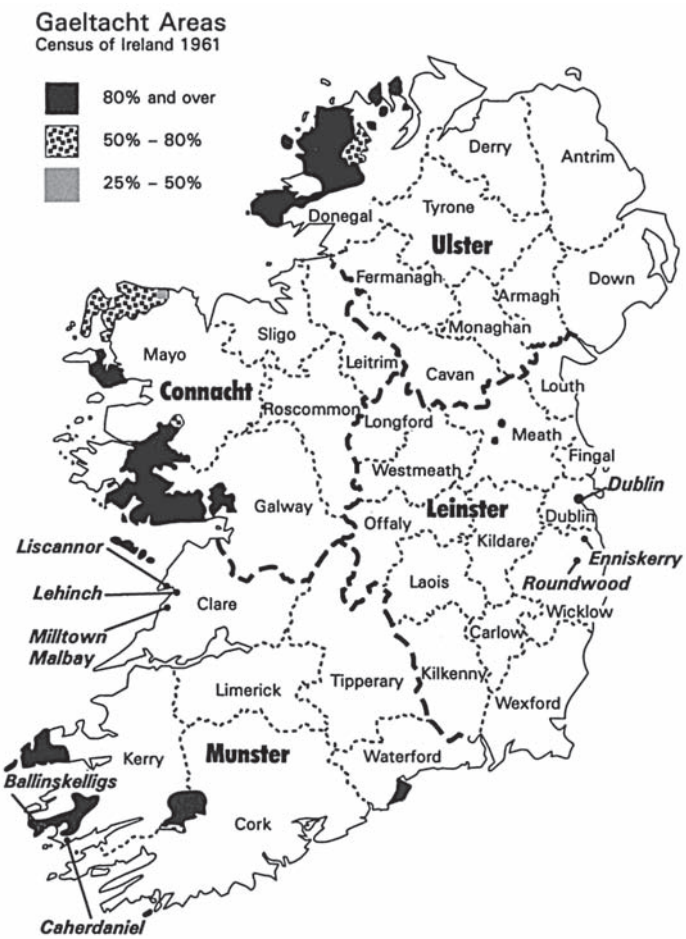
Outside academia, my very special thanks go to Dublin's North Inner City community and especially the people involved in the Inner City Organisations Network (ICON) for helping me to maintain contact with the 'real world' and for deepening my knowledge of HE vernacular during the solitary year of writing this book in Dublin in 1996–97. I am particularly grateful to Seánie Lambe and all the other members of the Lambe family, with whom I have kept in regular contact since my first year in Dublin in 1975–76. It was they who first introduced me to the close-knit Inner City community and helped me to obtain informants for my research (one of the best being Seánie's late father). I also remember with warmth all other friends, too numerous to mention, who helped me to shorten my evenings most pleasantly in the 'old' Hill 16 Bar and Annesley House. On the 'Southside', Christine and Maurice Kirwan as well as Anka and Peter Carr have likewise offered me and my family their friendship and the very best of Irish hospitality over all these years. Finally, I want to express my warmest thanks to my wife Heli, my sons Juhana and Joose, and my daughter Heini, who because of this long-drawn project have had to put up with my mental and physical spells of absence for so long.

Joensuu, September 1998
Markku Filppula

ABBREVIATIONS

A.I. (AI)	Anglo-Irish
AmE	American English
AppE	Appalachian English
BrE	British English
CUD	*A Concise Ulster Dictionary*
DIF	Department of Irish Folklore, University College Dublin
DOST	*A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*
EDD	*English Dialect Dictionary*
EDG	*English Dialect Grammar*
EModE	Early Modern English
EngE	English English
FG	Functional Grammar
HebE	Hebridean English
HE	Hiberno-English
IRAAL	Irish Association for Applied Linguistics
Ir.	Irish
IrE	Irish English
LAGB	Linguistic Association of Great Britain
ME	Middle English
MedHE	Medieval Hiberno-English
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MxE	Manx English
NED	*A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NVE	Newfoundland Vernacular English
NVIE	Newfoundland Vernacular Irish English
OE	Old English
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*
OSc.	Older Scots
R.T.É.	Raidió Teilifís Éireann
SAE	South Armagh English
SAWD	Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects

Sc.	Scots
ScE	Scottish English
SED	Survey of English Dialects
SLA	Second-language acquisition
SND	*The Scottish National Dictionary*
StE	Standard English
StIrE	Standard Irish English
TCD	Trinity College Dublin
TRS	Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Dialects
UCD	University College Dublin
UG	Universal Grammar
WE	Welsh English



Frontispiece Map of Ireland. Italicised names indicate some localities relevant to the present study (see Chapter 4). The Gaeltacht Areas are shown as scheduled under the Gaeltacht Areas Orders of 1956 and 1967; different shadings indicating percentages of Irish-speakers are based on the returns of the Census of Ireland 1961 (*source:* Brian Ó Cuív (ed.) 1969, *A View of the Irish Language,* Dublin: The Stationery Office).

1

INTRODUCTION

Dialect grammar, here understood in a wide sense as referring to the syntactic, morphosyntactic and also discourse-structural properties of any given dialect, has until quite recently been among the least favoured subjects in dialectological and sociolinguistic studies. In trying to explain 'why dialectologists have fought shy of syntax', the late Professor Ossi Ihalainen, one of the pioneers of the study of dialectal English grammar, points out two main reasons for this state of affairs: first, many dialectologists believe that syntactic differences between English dialects are not significant enough to warrant much syntactic analysis; second, research in this area has been held up by the lack of sufficiently large databases (Ihalainen 1988:569). Ihalainen's article, and indeed, his work on dialectal syntax as a whole, constituted an apt reply to the view expressed some years earlier by another great dialectologist, the late Martyn F.Wakelin, who on one occasion had described dialectal syntax as an 'unwieldy' object of study (Wakelin 1977:125). Fortunately, the last few years have witnessed a clear change of attitudes among dialectologists, and this has resulted in a rapid growth of literature on the grammar of regional dialects (see, e.g. Trudgill and Chambers 1991; Milroy and Milroy 1993). This in itself is proof that there are differences between the grammatical systems of English dialects which need to be described and explained. Although there is still a shortage of generally available databases, the development of computer-assisted research techniques has made it possible to build machine-readable corpora, which enable a systematic study of, and comparisons between, considerably larger databases than before.

Among the regional varieties which have become the object of fresh interest are the dialects of English spoken in the Celtic lands, including what will in this study be termed 'Hiberno-English', i.e. Irish English (see the discussion on terminology in section 3.5). What makes the study of Hiberno-English (henceforth abbreviated as HE) dialects particularly intriguing is their historical background: they are a product of a unique linguistic situation involving long-standing contact between two languages which, though both members of the Indo-European language family, display typological and structural differences in some central areas of their grammars, including the systems

of word order, the article system, the tense and aspect systems, the role of prepositions, and the information structure of the clause. On the other hand, there are significant similarities and structural overlaps even in the mentioned areas. Many of the dissimilarities and similarities are reflected in various ways in the linguistic outcome of the contact, namely HE dialects, which have preserved their distinctive nature up to the present day. First described in any detail at the beginning of this century by scholars such as Mary Hayden and Marcus Hartog (1909), P.W.Joyce (1910/1988), A.van Hamel (1912), and Jeremiah J. Hogan (1927/1970), the grammar of HE passed into near-oblivion as an academic object of study until P.L.Henry's thorough account of the spoken dialect of North Roscommon (Henry 1957). Another couple of decades passed in silence before a new wave of interest arose from the 1970s onwards along with descriptions of HE grammar by Alan J.Bliss (see e.g. Bliss no date, 1972, 1979, 1984a), Michael V.Barry (e.g. Barry 1981, 1982), and Lesley and James Milroy (e.g. L.Milroy 1980; J.Milroy 1981), who were soon followed by others.

The 1980 seminar on *The English Language in Ireland,* organised by the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics (IRAAL) in Blackrock, Co. Dublin, marked another important step forward in the study of HE (see *TEANGA* 2 1981 and Ó Baoill 1985, which contain selections of the papers read at this Seminar). Five years later, it was followed by *The First Symposium on Hiberno-English,* which was held at Trinity College, Dublin. This Symposium attracted a large number of scholars from various parts of the world, with one of the sections being devoted to syntactic theory and language contact (see Harris, Little, and Singleton 1986 for the papers read at this Symposium). Since then the number of scholars engaging in active research in this field has grown quickly, seminars and symposia have been arranged around the subject, and a constantly growing body of literature exists on various aspects of the grammar of HE approaching it from different theoretical points of view.

However, despite the general rise of interest in HE studies there has been a noticeable lack of descriptive and historical accounts of the grammar of HE dialects and, more specifically, of studies which would be based on authentic materials and would cover a wide range of the distinctive features of HE grammar. It is this gap which the present study seeks to start filling and thus continues the kind of enterprise represented by the grammatical section of Henry (1957). As in that work, the object of study here is the grammar of what can be called traditional HE vernacular, as it is spoken today, but in this study equal weight is given to the historical background of the features investigated. The focus will be on southern as opposed to northern HE dialects, though most of the features at issue are shared by all varieties spoken in Ireland and, indeed, in many cases even by dialects spoken outside Ireland.

The principal database of this study consists of recordings of speech collected from four broadly defined southern HE dialects: the rural (south)western dialects of Counties Clare and Kerry, the eastern dialect of rural Co. Wicklow, and

the urban dialect spoken in Dublin City. By comparing dialects which differ especially with regard to their recentness of direct contact with the Irish language I hope to be able to shed light on the often controversial problem of the origins of their distinctive features. The possible influence of Irish has also been a central factor in the choice of the features investigated: this study concentrates on those features which on the basis of the data and also of previous works can be said to be distinctive of, though not necessarily unique to, HE dialects and which, furthermore, have a potential source in the Irish language. Thus, besides being descriptive, this study aims to provide an explanatory account of the distinctive nature of HE grammar in a historical and contact-linguistic perspective. In order to achieve these objectives, various kinds of data representing earlier forms of HE and other varieties of English, including its earlier stages, will be used as points of comparison.

The order of discussion is as follows. Chapter 2 gives an outline of the 'external' history of English in Ireland and also provides a brief account of the language contact setting and of the decline of the Irish language. Chapter 3 provides an introduction to some of the most widely debated issues in the study of HE: the distinctiveness of HE *vis-à-vis* other dialects of English; the kinds of explanation offered in previous works for facts of HE grammar; the dating of the formative period of HE grammar; the degree of homogeneity of HE dialects; and finally, terminological issues. All of these themes will be followed up and discussed in the chapters dealing with particular features of HE grammar. Chapter 4 describes the nature and composition of the databases and explains the methods used in this study. Chapters 5 to 10 are devoted to a detailed discussion of selected features of HE grammar. The order adopted here follows the rather traditional pattern of starting with features associated with the category 'noun phrase' (Chapter 5), proceeding thence to various features of the 'verb phrase' (Chapter 6), here understood in a very broad sense. Selected aspects of questions, responses, and negation will be discussed in Chapter 7, while Chapters 8, 9, and 10 concentrate on some features of the complex sentence, prepositional usage, and focusing devices, respectively. Finally, Chapter 11 aims to pull the various strands of discussion together and present my conclusions with respect to the general issues raised in the course of this study.

2

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN IRELAND

2.1 The position of English in medieval Ireland

It has become customary to distinguish between two principal stages in the external history of the English language in Ireland: medieval and modern (see, e.g. Hogan 1927/1970; Bliss 1977a, 1979; Kallen 1994). This distinction is a convenient starting-point for our discussion, too, although it does not do full justice to the importance of the nineteenth century as a period which marked a drastic change in the dominance relationships between Irish and English (see the discussion in sections 2.2 and 3.3.3).

The introduction of English into Ireland started with the Norman invasion in 1169. As Bliss (1979:11) points out, this led to the establishment of English and Norman French as vernacular languages spoken in Ireland alongside Irish. Despite the fact that within the next hundred years or so the Normans managed to take over nearly all of the province of Leinster and parts of Munster and Ulster, Norman French began to decline rapidly, and the Norman population soon became gaelicised in their language and customs (Bliss 1979:12). English, which was the language of the tenants of the Norman lords, was at first more fortunate than Norman French, gaining some ground during the thirteenth century, but gradually the pressure of Irish pushed it into a steady decline in the following centuries. According to Hogan's vivid description of the developments in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

> Irish came down again into the plains and up to the walls of the towns. With the exception of those who carried on the Dublin government, or lived in or near the Pale, the great Norman families, never having been English, now became thoroughly Irish. The English yeomen and small freeholders steadily forsook the land, going to England or the Pale.
>
> (Hogan 1927/1970:23)

That the English language was indeed under growing pressure in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is also shown by the various attempts made by the English rulers to halt the process of gaelicisation. Among these, the Statutes

of Kilkenny became particularly well known: originally written in Norman French and passed by a Parliament held in Kilkenny in 1366, these statutes sought to turn the tide by imposing heavy penalties on those who were found using Irish. They, as well as other similar measures, turned out to be of no effect, and Irish continued to encroach upon the position of English not only in rural areas but also in towns, including even Dublin (Bliss 1979:13).

The decline of English was further hastened by the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Bliss (1979:17) points out that the Reformation legislation enacted for Ireland in 1536–7 resulted in a union of the 'Old English' settlers and the native Irish against the Protestant, 'New English', rulers, and the Irish language thus became the symbol of the Catholic religion. Contemporary evidence has often been cited to demonstrate the dominance of Irish by the mid-sixteenth century. Hogan quotes a report contained in Justice Luttrell's Book dating from 1537, according to which the decline of English was not restricted to counties outside the Pale. In his description of the situation in County Kildare, not far from Dublin, Justice Luttrell laments the fact that English-speaking husbandmen had been driven out of the county to the extent that

> nowe the said countye, whiche was more parte Englyshe, as the countye of Dublyn now is, ther is not one husbondman in effect, that spekeith Englyshe, ne useith any English sort ne maner, and ther gentyllmen be after the same sort.
>
> (Hogan 1927/1970:34)

Other sources cited by Hogan include The Dublin Assembly Rolls of 1657, which state that

> There is Irish commonlie and usuallie spoken, and the Irish habitt worne not onelie in the streetes, and by such as live in the countrie and come to this cittie on market dayes, but alsoe by and in severall families in this cittie.
>
> (Hogan 1927/1970:36)

On the basis of these and other similar sixteenth-century or later reports on the decline of English, Hogan concludes that 'there is probably no exaggeration in the accounts of the decay of English in the country districts, including the Pale' (1927/1970:36).

In a similar vein, Ó Cuív (1951), Henry (1957), Bliss (1979) and Barry (1982) emphasise the tenuous position of English especially in rural areas by the end of the sixteenth century. Thus, Ó Cuív (1951:14) states that 'with the exception of a small number in parts of Leinster and in certain urban areas, the people of Ireland were Irish-speaking and Irish-speaking only'. Henry (1957: 16), writing on the same period, speaks of the 'early' extinction of English in most rural areas. Bliss (1979:14) refers to the contemporary reports on the session of the

parliament held in Dublin in 1541, which he interprets as indicating that, of all the 'Old English' lords attending the session, the Earl of Ormond was the only one who had sufficient knowledge of English to understand the Bill proclaiming Henry VIII as King of Ireland. Another testimony cited by Bliss is that given by Lord Chancellor Gerrarde in 1578, according to which 'all English, and the most part with delight, even in Dublin, speak Irish, and greatly are spotted in manners, habit and conditions with Irish stains' (Bliss 1979:14).

Bliss's general conclusion is that '[b]y about 1600 the older English [MedHE] survived only in the towns, and in two widely-separated rural areas' (Bliss 1977a:8). The latter comprised the dialects of 'Old English' holding out in the baronies of Forth and Bargy in Co. Wexford, and in the district of Fingal, north of Dublin. In the former area, the old dialect continued to be spoken well into the eighteenth century, and in the barony of Forth, even up until 1850 (for further discussion of these dialects, see Ó Muirithe 1977; Dolan and Ó Muirithe 1978).

Despite the kind of evidence discussed above, there is some disagreement on the general position of English towards the end of the sixteenth century. Kallen (1994:155) notes the tendency of earlier research to place emphasis on those contemporary reports which provide evidence of the near-extinction of 'Old English' by the end of the sixteenth century. In contrast to the views underlining the discontinuity between 'Old English' and the 'New English' introduced by the seventeenth-century plantations, Kallen finds it more plausible to assume that some English continued to be spoken throughout the sixteenth century, hence providing a living link between the medieval and modern strands of HE. According to him, the contemporary reports on the linguistic situation provide enough evidence to show that 'English was spoken within the Anglo-Irish population, though it may not have been the only language used and may not have corresponded to the contemporary English of England' (Kallen 1994:155–6). In further support of his view Kallen cites the studies by Irwin (1935) and Canny (1980), who also argue for a certain degree of continuity between the medieval and early modern phases.

2.2 The rise of modern Hiberno-English dialects and the decline of Irish

Although there are differing views on the question of continuity, it is generally acknowledged that the plantations of the seventeenth century marked an important turning-point in the linguistic history of Ireland (see, e.g. Kallen 1997:14). The latter half of the sixteenth century had already witnessed the plantations of Leix and Offaly under Queen Mary and of Munster under Elizabeth. These were to be followed in 1601 by the defeat of the Irish rebels and their Spanish allies at the battle of Kinsale. Subsequently, the failure of various rebellions in Ulster and the so-called Flight of the Earls in 1607 led to an influx of English and Scottish settlers into the northern parts of Ireland. However, the

most influential changes were brought about by the Cromwellian Settlement in the 1650s. In Hogan's (1927/1970:52) words, this settlement 'gave the final blow to the old Irish society, reduced the native race to helotry, and established as the Irish nation an alien upper class'. It also gave a strong impulse to the diffusion of the English language. In all provinces except Connacht, the landowners were English-speaking Protestants, and as Bliss (1979: 19) points out, 'the great houses formed centres where the English language was spoken: tenants and servants alike had to learn some English in order to communicate with their masters'.

It is remarkable that, although the Cromwellian Settlement gave a decisive impetus to 'New English', it did not proceed with any notable speed among the mass of the Irish-speaking population until much later. Thus, Ó Cuív (1951: 18) notes that Irish continued to be spoken even in Dublin throughout the seventeenth century and also during the eighteenth century. As one piece of evidence indicating the tenacity of Irish Ó Cuív (1951:18–19) mentions the repeated measures suggested by the authorities for the use of Irish as the most suitable medium of Protestant religious instruction. Hindley (1990:8) writes that the position of Irish stayed so strong throughout the seventeenth century that, apart from the planted parts of Ulster, the descendants of Cromwellian settlers 'were commonly monoglot Irish by 1700'. As regards the eighteenth century, Ó Cuív refers to some contemporary estimates of the numbers of Irish-speakers, which indicate that in 1731, for example, some two-thirds of the population still used Irish as their everyday means of communication, while as late as 1791 about half of the population were either monoglot Irish or had Irish as their preferred language (Ó Cuív 1951:19). De Fréine (1977:73) gives an essentially similar account of the developments in this period. He writes that the language situation at the end of the eighteenth century was not significantly different from that in the year 1700, while Hindley (1990:8) states that 'it is unlikely that Irish began to fall into disuse in native homes before about 1750, except in a handful of towns'. On the other hand, there was a clear social division here: as Hindley (1990:8) points out, the gentry were anglicised by 1800 throughout the country, and in most eastern and central areas had no knowledge of Irish.

The above accounts are also supported by the meticulous statistical analyses carried out by Fitzgerald (1984) on the basis of nineteenth-century censuses and especially the 1881 census. Fitzgerald's study covers the period from *c.* 1770 to 1870, and by using the data from the age-group tables it seeks to establish the minimum levels of Irish-speaking in successive new generations in different parts of Ireland. His results show that, of those born in the first decade investigated, 1771–81, more than 90 per cent were Irish-speaking in the (south-)western counties of Kerry, Clare, Galway, and Mayo. In Cork, Waterford, and Sligo the percentage of Irish-speakers was over 80, and the 50 per cent mark was also exceeded by varying degrees in the following counties: Kilkenny (57), Louth (57), Limerick (76), Tipperary (51), Leitrim (52), Roscommon

(74), and Donegal (56) (Fitzgerald 1984:127). The corresponding figures for the four provinces were of course slightly lower: Leinster 17, Munster 80, Connacht 84, and Ulster 19 per cent, the percentage for all Ireland being 45 (Fitzgerald 1984:127). As Fitzgerald (1984:125) notes, the results provide plenty of evidence for the survival of Irish amongst young people 'in much the greater part of Ireland'. Where Irish turned out to be weakest was the area between Dublin and Wexford, including also parts of the Midlands. Not surprisingly, the level of Irish-speaking was very low in various parts of the north and north-east, and in mid- and south Antrim, Down and north Armagh there was no sign of the survival of Irish (ibid.).

Despite the continued dominance of Irish in the eighteenth century, it is evident that bilingualism spread steadily throughout this period. As Hindley (1990:11) points out, the 'general setting' of eighteenth-century Ireland favoured the adoption of English, but at first only as a second language; it was not until the following century that this policy of bilingualism was abandoned and a large-scale language shift got under way. The numbers of bilinguals in different periods cannot be estimated very exactly, but Hindley (1990), relying on the account given by Dr Whitley Stokes in 1799, arrives at the figure of 1,600,000 bilinguals at that date out of an estimated population of 5.4 million, i.e. some 30 per cent (Hindley 1990:15; see also Ó Cuív 1951:19, who uses the same source but estimates the total population to have been only 4.75 million at this period). According to Stokes's account, the number of monoglot Irish-speakers in 1799 was some 800,000, which was about 15 per cent of the total population (Hindley 1990:15). De Fréine (1977:80) places the number of the monoglot Irish around 1800 at a considerably higher level, namely at some 2 million, while his estimate of the number of bilinguals is 1.5 million.

Leaving the possible inaccuracies in the statistics aside, it is no exaggeration to say that the first half of the nineteenth century turned the scales in favour of English. This becomes clear, for instance, from the returns of the first official census of 1851. The number of Irish-speakers was now estimated at about 1.5 million or 23 per cent of the total population, which by this date had increased by more than a million and amounted to just over 6.5 million (Hindley 1990: 15). A significant change had also taken place in the number of monoglot Irish-speakers, which by 1851 had dropped to slightly over 300,000 (or some 5 per cent) from the 800,000 (or two million, as de Fréine writes) in 1799. The 1851 census has been criticised for under-representing the numbers of Irish-speakers (see, e.g. de Fréine 1977:80–1; Kallen 1994:162), but as de Fréine (1977:81) aptly remarks, '[t]hey [the census data] may not show how far the people had travelled on the road to anglicisation, but they pointed unmistakeably in the direction they were going'. The overall trend is perhaps most reliably demonstrated by Fitzgerald's (1984) statistics on the developments from 1771 to 1871. According to them, the Irish-speaking proportion of four decennial cohorts first declined only slightly, dropping from 45 per cent in 1771–81 to 41 per cent in 1801–11, but then sank to 28 per cent in 1831–41

and further down to 13 per cent in 1861–71. Table 2.1, adapted from Fitzgerald (1984), provides the percentages for each of the four provinces (see Chapter 4 for a discussion of the situation in the counties and baronies investigated in this study, i.e. Clare, Kerry, Wicklow, and Dublin).

There is an extensive literature on the causes of the language shift in Ireland. Some of these are very obvious, such as the effect of the Great Famine in the 1840s: about one million people died, while another million were forced to emigrate as a result of the successive failures of the potato crops; those areas where Irish had been strongest were the most badly affected (see, e.g. de Fréine 1977:85–6). Several writers have pointed out the role of the National School system, launched in 1831, from which Irish was excluded by means of various penalties (see, e.g. O'Rahilly 1932/1976:12; Wall 1969:86; Henry 1977:21). The attitude and policies adopted by the Catholic church have also been singled out as a factor working against Irish. O'Rahilly (1932/1976:11–12) emphasises the influence of the foundation of Maynooth College in 1795: though set up for the education of the Catholic priesthood, English was from the outset the primary medium of instruction there, which contributed to the establishment of English as the *de facto* official language of the Church in Ireland (see also Hindley 1990:13). Yet another factor was the choice of English as the language of politics and Catholic emancipation even by such leaders as Daniel O'Connell, who was himself a native speaker of Irish (Hindley 1990:14). As Wall (1969: 82) notes, by 1800 Irish had already had to withdraw from the top of the social scale: from parliament, the courts of law, town and country government, the civil service and the upper levels of commercial life. English now became the symbol for opportunity and success, whereas Irish was increasingly associated with poverty and illiteracy (Wall 1969:85). This resulted in a mass flight from Irish, a process which de Fréine (1977:84) has described as 'not the product of any law or official regulation, but of a social self-generated movement of collective behaviour among the people themselves'. Hindley explains the same phenomenon in terms of the dialectics of quantitative and qualitative changes:

Table 2.1 Percentage of Irish-speakers in certain decennial cohorts from 1771 to 1871

Province	*Decades of birth*			
	1771–81	*1801–11*	*1831–41*	*1861–71*
Leinster	17	11	3	0
Munster	80	77	57	21
Connacht	84	80	63	40
Ulster	19	15	8	4
Ireland	45	41	28	13

Source: after Fitzgerald 1984:127.

> The suddenness of Irish language collapse around and after 1800 may be understood in terms of the Marxian model of quantitative changes slowly building up to major qualitative change. The desire for English built up slowly because opportunities for the masses through English built up only slowly. The steady increase in bilingualism was the quantitative change which led around 1800 to qualitative change represented by the mass abandonment of Irish. This is hardly surprising, for a necessary precondition of adjudging Irish unnecessary or 'useless' would be the achievement of very wide-spread near-universal fluency in English. That is to say, universal bilingualism was the essential transitional stage on the way from an Irish-speaking Ireland to an English-speaking Ireland. By 1800 bilingualism was well advanced and the ultimate fate of the native language was near to a final decision.
>
> (Hindley 1990:12)

Writing some forty years earlier, Ó Cuív (1951) had also recognised the role of widespread bilingualism as a necessary transitional stage, leading first to a situation where Irish was relegated to the status of a secondary language and eventually to one where it fell into disuse and was completely replaced by English. According to Ó Cuív (1951:27), the stages were thus: Irish only ? Irish and English ? English and Irish ? English only.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the decline of Irish, already evident from Fitzgerald's (1984) statistics quoted above, continued at a steady pace, and by the census of 1891 the number of Irish-speakers had dropped to a little over half a million (Ó Cuív 1969:129). What was perhaps even more significant was the dwindling number of Irish-speaking monoglots, which according to one estimate fell from just over 300,000 in 1851 to 38,000 in 1891 (Gregor 1980:274). As de Fréine (1977:86) puts it, 'by the year 1900 the transformation was almost complete'. Statistics on the subsequent developments are not directly comparable with the previous census figures, especially because of the effects of the Gaelic Revival. As Ó Cuív (1951:27) points out, the continuing decline in the number of Irish-speakers in the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht areas[1] was offset by increases in the rest of the country. This tendency became particularly prominent following the appointment of the Gaeltacht Commission in 1925, which led to a more positive attitude towards Irish and was reflected in the census returns. These, as Ó Cuív (1951:28) remarks, 'were very often far from showing the true position', and in some cases could yield increases of up to 2,400 per cent in the number of Irish-speakers. Ó Cuív's (1951:31–2) estimate of the number of Irish-speakers in the Gaeltacht areas indicates that around 1950 there were only some 35,000 persons using Irish as their daily medium of communication and no more than 3,000 monoglots. The more recent accounts reveal that there are no monoglot speakers, and the number of those who use Irish as their daily medium of communication is most probably less than 50,000

(see, e.g. Ó Danachair 1969:118; Ó Cuív 1969: 129–31). Despite the difficulties involved in estimating the real numbers of everyday users of Irish, the situation in the Gaeltacht areas has continued to deteriorate: Ó Murchú (1985:29) states that 'no more than 25,000 of the Gaeltacht population now use Irish consistently in day-to-day communication'. The latest official figures provided by the Census of 1996 show that there was a total of 61,035 Irish-speakers in all Gaeltacht areas, the largest concentrations being found in Galway County and Galway County Borough (a combined total of 24,994 Irish-speakers), followed by Donegal County (17,788). Mayo and Kerry were next with their Irish-speaking populations of 7,481 and 6,132, respectively. The rest were divided between Cork County (2,756), Waterford County (1,111), and Meath County (773 Irish-speakers) (for further details, see *Census 1996: Principal Socio-economic Results,* Table 30; see also the Map of Ireland on page xvii).

On the other hand, it has to be remembered that Irish is also learnt and used outside the Gaeltachtaí. The picture emerging when the whole population of the Republic of Ireland is taken into consideration varies according to the source and method of survey. Thus, on the basis of the 1981 Census of the Population, as many as 31.6 per cent of the total population of 3,226,467 were returned as Irish-speakers, which was slightly up from the 28.3 per cent of the previous Census in 1971 (Ó Murchú 1985:30). By the latest Census in 1996, this figure had further risen to 43.5 per cent out of a total of 3,489,648 persons aged 3 years and over (*Census 1996: Principal Socio-economic Results,* Table 26). However, as Ó Murchú (1985:30) points out, the official Census figures cannot be used as direct indicators of the real levels of use. By comparison, Gregor (1980:316) quotes the report issued by the Committee on Language Attitudes in 1976, which states that only 9 per cent of the population of the Republic of Ireland had 'high verbal competence' in Irish. A fairly similar picture emerges from the Bord na Gaeilge publication entitled *The Irish Language in a Changing Society* (no date, but evidently published in the 1980s), which surveys the various dimensions of Irish language use and ability levels. This report concludes that about one-third of the population of the Republic has 'at least moderate bilingual competence', whereas the proportion of those who consider themselves to be 'currently active users of Irish' is only between 5 and 10 per cent, i.e. somewhere between 175,000 and 350,000 persons (*The Irish Language in a Changing Society:* 23).

3

MAJOR ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF HIBERNO-ENGLISH

3.1 General characteristics of Hiberno-English grammar

3.1.1 Distinctiveness of HE vis-à-vis *other dialects of English*

At the phonetic and phonological levels, the Irish dialects of English are easily recognisable: the 'Irish accent' (or accents, rather) displays certain features common to most speakers even regardless of their educational, social, or regional backgrounds. Distinctiveness in that respect can hardly be questioned, although scholars may differ on the question of the origins of some of these features.

The grammar of HE presents a much more multifarious picture, because social and regional considerations, alongside time, play a significant role here. While present-day 'educated speech' strives towards the StE norm in all essential respects, the speech of those with less formal education in rural settings especially, but also in urban working-class contexts, abounds in grammatical features which are sometimes far removed from the norms and usages of StE grammar. As said in the Introduction (Chapter 1), this study focuses on the latter type of rural and urban speech varieties, which can be subsumed under the heading of 'traditional vernacular'. At that level, there is a lot of evidence of usages which differentiate HE from other dialects of English, and from what we know of the earlier forms of HE speech we can assume that these differences were even sharper in the past.

Let us first look at how the distinctive character of HE has been captured in the earliest research. Hayden and Hartog outline the three major elements which give HE its special flavour as follows:

> I. Survivals of Tudor and Stuart English words that have disappeared from SE [StE], as well as of ancient meanings and constructions, besides such transformations of meaning and metaphor as have arisen from a development isolated from England, and not necessarily due to Gaelic [Irish] influence.
> II. Peculiarities due to Gaelic influence. These we may consider under the two heads: (a) borrowings of Gaelic words, often more

> or less altered in the transfer; (b) borrowings (that is, literal translations) of Gaelic idioms.
> III. Solecisms that have arisen from imperfect assimilation of the alien tongue.
>
> (Hayden and Hartog 1909:776)

Although especially the first of the three points listed by Hayden and Hartog focuses on lexicon rather than grammar, they nevertheless define the agenda for subsequent research on HE grammar as a whole. What the authors discuss under the heading of 'solecisms' could in modern terms be described as transfer phenomena typically arising in a second-language acquisition (SLA) situation. Writing at about the same time—and probably independently of Hayden and Hartog—Joyce (1910/1988:1) arrives at a very similar characterisation of HE: according to him, 'Anglo-Irish dialectical words and phrases' derive from three main sources, which are the Irish language, 'Old English' and the dialect of Scotland, and independent developments within the dialects of English spoken in Ireland. 'Old English' refers here to both the medieval varieties introduced into Ireland from the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion and the later varieties spoken by the Elizabethan planters (Joyce 1910/1988:6–7). The views expounded by Hayden and Hartog (1909) and Joyce (1910/1988) are closely echoed by another contemporary scholar, van Hamel (1912), who also singles out earlier stages of English as a major contributory source to 'Anglo-Irish' vocabulary, in particular, whereas the influence of Irish is best in evidence in 'those strange syntactical constructions which make Anglo-Irish an almost incomprehensible language to anybody not knowing Gaelic' (van Hamel 1912:274).

Apart from some differences in points of emphasis, decades of research since the early twentieth-century pioneers have not changed the overall portrayal of HE grammar. Thus, Bliss concludes his description of southern HE as follows:

> In the pronunciation and vocabulary of southern Hiberno-English it is possible to trace the influence both of older strata of the English language and of the Irish language; in grammar, syntax and idiom the peculiarities of southern Hiberno-English depend exclusively on the Irish language. Even in the parts of Ireland where Irish has long been extinct its unconscious influence still controls the usage of speakers of English.
>
> (Bliss 1984a:150)

More recently, Harris (1993:140), in reference to the popular view according to which HE is 'a mixture of the language of Shakespeare and the Irish of the Gaelic earls', remarks that it does indeed reflect the two main historical inputs to what he terms Modern Irish English. In comparison with Bliss, though, Harris places greater emphasis on the input from Early Modern English (EModE)

and Scots especially in those areas where Irish has ceased to be spoken long ago and where the English and Scots settlements have had a stronger impact on the dialect (see, e.g. Harris 1993:141). Kallen (1986) is another researcher who draws attention to the retention of earlier English features especially in the verbal aspect systems of HE grammar.

P.L.Henry's stand on the basic nature of HE is slightly different from the ones quoted so far in that it is based on a distinction between 'three major strands', which he defines as follows:

> Firstly, a characteristically rural variety compounded of Irish and English or Irish and Scots. This developed chiefly in the last century and a half and is properly called Anglo-Irish. Secondly, a more urban, regional and standard variety tending towards international or so-called Standard English. This derives ultimately from British settlers in Ireland and its germinal period was the seventeenth century. It is properly called Hiberno-English. The third strand is Ulster Scots from the same period.
>
> (Henry 1977:20)

Henry's description makes it clear that, of the three varieties, Anglo-Irish is the one most heavily shaped by Irish influence. Indeed, he goes so far as saying that Anglo-Irish represents 'language forming on the same base as corresponding Irish structures, with native intonation and pronunciation and a foraging for English materials' (Henry 1977:36).

In contrast to Henry's and Bliss's views, in particular, Lass plays down the role of Irish influence and sees HE as 'a perfectly normal first-language, internally-evolved variety', which at the phonological level shows significant similarities with seventeenth-century southern BrE (Lass 1990:148). In an earlier context (see Lass 1987) he had already taken issue with what he calls the 'standard view', noting that

> [t]he standard view is that HE derives its basic features from the confrontation of 17th-century SBE [Southern British English] with Irish: that its phonology is a 'compromise', and that it shows many morphosyntactic features of Irish origin. I take a rather more sceptical view, and assume that except for a few clear cases the direct influence of Irish is marginal, and that we have in all forms of HE basically an indigenous and independent development of English.
>
> (Lass 1987:263)

Thus, for Lass the distinctiveness of HE resides in its preservation of archaic forms of English rather than in any significant input from Irish. This leads him to conclude that HE is not a contact variety in any meaningful sense of the term (Lass 1990:148).

The views described above reveal some of the most contentious issues concerning the nature of HE. One has to do with the status of HE as a 'contact vernacular' or 'contact variety'. This is essentially a question about the amount of Irish input to HE grammar, since there is only one substratum language (with its many dialects, though) in the Irish contact setting. Other issues arising from the above quotations are the relationship between HE and other varieties of English, including (British) Standard English, and the possible existence of an Irish standard of English. These issues will be briefly introduced in the following sections, and they will be returned to in Chapter 11 in the light of the findings of this study.

3.1.2 HE as a 'contact vernacular'

I will use the terms 'contact vernacular' and 'contact variety' to refer to varieties which have emerged in second-language acquisition situations through intensive contact between two or more languages and in conditions which typically involve a fairly rapid process of language shift.[1] The speech communities involved may remain bilingual to some extent, but this need not be the case, as contact varieties are often well established and no longer dependent on bilingualism. In the early stages of the contact, of course, bilingualism is usually widespread and, indeed, a prerequisite for the emergence of the contact variety.

Depending on a number of both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors such as the typological affinity of the languages involved, the size of the population, the pace of language shift, and the accessibility of the 'target language', the emergent contact variety displays varying degrees of 'substratal' and 'superstratal' influences in its phonology, grammar, and lexicon. The terms 'substratal' and 'superstratal' refer to the outcomes of the two types of transfer or 'interference' which take place in a language shift situation: the former refers to those elements in the emergent contact variety which are carried over from the indigenous, 'substratum', language of the population shifting to another language and which persist in the speech of subsequent generations; the latter represents the input from the target or 'superstratum' language, which is very often (though not necessarily) in a prestigious and socially superior position in the speech community. (For further discussion, see Filppula and Sarhimaa 1994:96; see also Lehiste 1988:60; Thomason and Kaufman 1988:116.)

Creoles are usually mentioned as prime examples of contact vernaculars. This of course raises the question of the nature of HE as a contact vernacular and, possibly, as a creole. As noted above, there are views which explicitly deny that HE is a contact vernacular. But it is equally noteworthy that most of those writers on HE who emphasise the role of the Irish substratum, and hence at least implicitly consider HE (especially in its earlier stages) to be a contact variety, fight shy of labelling HE as a creole. As an example of this kind of approach one could mention Todd, who describes the process of language shift in the northern parts of Ireland as follows:

> One can, for example, make a good case in support of the thesis that Gaelic was not so much replaced by English in rural areas in Northern Ireland, as that Gaelic was probably relexified towards English while the phonology, idioms and sentence patterns of the native people remained Gaelic.
>
> (Todd 1984:26)

As is commonly known, relexification is one of the processes through which creoles have been said to evolve (see, e.g. Lehiste 1988:80). Todd (1984:74) is, however, content to conclude that Hiberno-English is a borderline case between English-related creoles and dialects of English.

Another HE scholar who explicitly discusses the possible creole nature of HE is Harris. Having noted that HE 'has a recent history of language contact which at least partially resembles those of creoles' (Harris 1984a:314), he goes on to point out what he considers the main similarity between creoles and 'non-creole vernaculars' such as HE, namely the kind of restructuring processes which take place in situations of interface between the nonstandard variety (whether creole or non-creole) and the corresponding standard variety. These processes, as Harris argues following the 'decreolization' model proposed by Bickerton (1981), form a sequence where new superstratal forms are acquired first, and it is only subsequently that they are assigned their 'correct' functions. According to Harris, this model explains the pattern of variation between certain types of HE perfects, which besides formal differences also differ in their functions from the StE perfects (Harris 1984a:314–15).

In the general literature on language contacts HE has so far received surprisingly little attention. For example, Weinreich (1953/1974) mentions the Irish contact situation only in passing (see, e.g. p. 60), while Lehiste (1988) makes no reference to it at all (although she does refer to the Welsh setting, see pp. 50–2). A notable exception is Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who comment on the case of HE on several occasions. According to them, HE is best described as a case of 'language shift with normal transmission', with 'moderate to heavy [structural] interference' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, section 5.2.4). This means that, although the substratum language has left a number of structural traces in the grammar of the target language, they are not so drastic as to have disrupted genetic continuity, and in this sense the target language can be said to have been transmitted normally (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 146). On this account, it is clear that HE is not a creole, which for Thomason and Kaufman represents an outcome of a 'shift without normal transmission', and which does not allow genetic classification (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 2–4; see also the discussion in Chapter 6 of the same volume).

Thomason and Kaufman's account of HE as a result of normal transmission has been called into question in a recent study by Terence Odlin (Odlin 1997a), who argues that the origins of HE dialects cannot be satisfactorily explained by the standard model of genetic relationship. As his main piece of evidence

to show that HE cannot be located on a *Stammbaum* in any straightforward manner, Odlin mentions patterns of regional variation in HE which point to the existence of dialect differentiation along both south/north and east/west axes. He notes that, despite differences caused by differing historical and linguistic backgrounds, both northern and southern varieties of HE share a number of features which originate in the Irish substratum instead of the English superstratum. The same substratal source is also behind the variation between the grammars of the eastern and western dialects. On the basis of these facts Odlin concludes that the commonalities between northern and southern HE and the pattern of variation along the east/west axis cannot be explained merely in terms of the genetic *Stammbaum* model. Instead, as Odlin argues, a unitary explanation is available in terms of the Irish substratum (Odlin 1997a:28–33).

The difference of opinion between Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Odlin (1997a) may eventually be reduced to the question of how the concept of genetic relationship is defined. Odlin himself seems to acknowledge this, as he points out that one way of getting round the problems posed by the case of HE would be to interpret the *Stammbaum* model in terms of scalar rather than binary values. This would make it possible to describe HE as a case where this model is 'somewhat applicable but less so than in cases of change that owe little or nothing to language contact' (Odlin 1997a:33).

Regardless of the question of the applicability of the *Stammbaum* model, one can single out several other factors which distinguish HE from creoles without compromising its status as a contact vernacular insofar as its genesis is concerned. These include the number of languages involved in the contact, the degree of bilingualism in the shifting population, the amount of input from the superstratum language or its varieties, the general linguistic characteristics of the contact vernacular, and the sociohistorical causes of language shift. A more detailed discussion of these factors is deferred to Chapter 11, by which time the picture of HE as a contact vernacular will have been considerably sharpened by the discussion in the following chapters.

3.1.3 HE, Standard English, and the question of the Irish standard of English

It is now generally accepted that the types of English brought to Ireland from the seventeenth century onwards were largely nonstandard and dialectal (cf. however, Hogan's (1927/1970) view discussed below). This is not surprising in view of the fact that the notion of a standard of English usage had only emerged in the previous century. In the Irish context, a further factor suggesting a heavy input from nonstandard varieties is the variable social and regional background of the early English planters, soldiers, and administrators. Thus, Bliss writes that

> [t]here is no way of knowing the social and regional origins of the English administrators in Dublin from whom Irishmen presumably

> learned or re-learned their English; but there is no reason to suppose that they all came from London or the Home Counties, so that it is not surprising to find dialectal features in Hiberno-English, especially features belonging to the northern and western dialects.
>
> (Bliss 1979:317)

Bliss also points out that Scottish features are common in the early HE texts (ibid.). Again, this is only to be expected on the basis of the extensive Scots settlements in Ulster and of other historical links between Ireland and Scotland and, as will be seen from the discussion in the subsequent chapters, HE dialects even today share a fair number of grammatical features with Scottish varieties of English.

Besides the western and northern influences, some researchers have emphasised the contribution from the southwestern dialects of English (see, e.g. Harris 1986:180) and, more generally, from the southern dialects (Lass 1990). Kallen (1994:165), relying on McIntosh and Samuels (1968), sees here a distinction between early (i.e. medieval) Irish English and the early modern and later stages: while the former is founded on southwest and southwest Midlands English, the latter displays considerable influence from northern English dialects. There is indeed ample evidence of the importance of the connections between Ireland and the southwest of England in the medieval period. Bliss (1984b:27, 39) notes that the majority of the Englishmen taking part in the twelfth-century invasions of Ireland came from the southwestern counties adjacent to Bristol and the west Midlands. The historian Howard B.Clarke *(forthcoming)* discusses different kinds of historical evidence which indicates that the great majority of the early English inhabitants of Dublin came from the hinterland of Bristol.[2] The origins of the rural colonists is not known with the same degree of certainty, but as Clarke notes, they probably originated in the west Midland and south-central shires, including also the southwestern shires of Somerset and Devon. On the other hand, there was a certain amount of two-way exchange as well: for example, thirteenth-century Gloucester is known to have taken in immigrants from Ireland (Clarke, *forthcoming*). Besides historical evidence, some linguistic features found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Anglo-Irish texts suggest that the majority of the English settlers of the period came from the west Midlands and the southwest of England (Samuels 1972:108–9).

It is important to note that the connections between the southwest and west Midland areas of England and Ireland continued after the Middle Ages. Thus, the historian R.F.Foster points out the close economic and social links which existed between southwest England and the province of Munster in Ireland from the late sixteenth-century Tudor plantations onwards. The planters, many of whom came from Devon and Somerset, had a major role in building timber and mineral industries in Munster and developing fisheries trade. The 'English impress', as Foster puts it, is still retained in various ways in Munster (for further discussion, see Foster 1988:66–72).

Even if the earliest types of English introduced into Ireland represented mainly nonstandard and dialectal forms of speech, more standard varieties must have had a certain presence there as well. In contrast with the prevailing view, Hogan (1927/1970:53) states that, although the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century planters were of mixed origin, 'on the whole their speech approximated to contemporary Standard English'. In support of this, he cites the observations reported by Thomas Dinely in his book *Tour in Ireland,* dating from 1681.[3] According to Dinely, 'they that do speake English here throughout the whole Kingdom speake it generally better and more London-like than in most places of England' (cited in Hogan 1927/1970:53).

In more recent times exposure to standard varieties has grown continually because of the influence of the educational system and of the mass media, geographical proximity of, and easiness of travel to London and the other main bases of 'Metropolitan English', etc. The setting up of National Schools in 1831 is usually mentioned as an important step in promoting English at the expense of Irish in general (see, e.g. Henry 1977:21; Ó Cuív 1986:381), and more particularly, in establishing StE as the 'target variety' for the Irish learners of English (see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988:8). However, despite the views which regard general education as instrumental in spreading knowledge of English among the Irish-speaking population, there is evidence which shows that the role of schooling remained rather marginal for a long period after the establishment of National Schools. Odlin is perhaps the first to examine in detail how English was actually acquired in the period of the most intense language shift in the nineteenth century. Combining data from the official 1851 Census of the numbers of bilingual speakers and those able to read, or to read and write, he arrives at surprisingly large numbers of illiterate bilinguals: for example, in the barony of Claremorris in Co. Mayo the percentage of the illiterate, yet bilingual, population was as high as 71.7 and, as he points out, the figures of the 1851 Census suggest a fairly similar distribution in several other counties with large Gaeltachts, such as Clare, Kerry, Cork, Waterford, and Donegal (Odlin 1997a:5–6; see also Odlin 1994). Odlin concludes that

> […] there is little support for the claim that in the mid-19th century the acquisition of English by Irish speakers resulted largely from schooling. It is even less probable that schools played a major role before that time. There were fewer schools, and for a considerable period in the 18th century the authorities often tried to enforce legislation against teaching any subject to Irish Catholics. Although the well-known 'hedge schools' that arose despite such bans provided education to some Catholics, these opportunities did not affect the majority of schoolchildren.
>
> (Odlin 1997a:6)

That the method of transmission of English was predominantly 'naturalistic'

is also confirmed by Guilfoyle (1986:127), and the same view is expressed, albeit in less explicit terms, by Bliss as follows:

> One fact is of vital importance for the history of Anglo-Irish dialects: the Irishman learning English had no opportunity of learning it from speakers of standard English. [...]
>
> Irishmen learning English, therefore, had to rely on teachers of their own race, whose own English was very different from standard English, so that there was nothing to check the progressive influence of the Irish language. In each generation the speech of the teachers was already strongly influenced by Irish, the speech of the learners even more so.
>
> (Bliss 1977a:16–17)

Although, as we have seen, the effect of schooling remained marginal up to the latter part of the nineteenth century, there have been repeated attempts in all periods at guiding and correcting the English of the Irish. Among the earliest exponents of prescriptivist attitudes were Thomas Sheridan and, about a century later, Dr Gerald Molloy. The former's best-known work is *Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language,* published in Dublin in 1781. In an appendix to this work, Sheridan lays down a number of rules meant for the Irish people to help them to achieve correct pronunciation of English words. Sheridan's work is of particular interest, because according to Hogan (1927/1970:59) it is the first grammar to comment explicitly on 'Anglo-Irish' dialect. Dr Molloy's *The Irish Difficulty, Shall and Will,* published in 1897, is also specifically aimed at the Irish public and, besides providing meticulous analyses of the StE usage of the auxiliaries *shall* and *will* (some aspects of which are, incidentally, questioned by Hayden and Hartog 1909:937–8), it contains more or less anecdotal accounts of typical 'errors' and 'bulls' occurring in the speech of Irish people, followed by advice on the 'correct' uses.

This leads us to the vexed question of the Irish standard of English or 'Standard Irish English' (StIrE). As has become evident from the foregoing, prescriptive tradition in Ireland has always held StE as the target variety, but this does not in itself preclude the possible existence or gradual emergence of an Irish standard of English at some other level. In their survey of the various present-day national standards of English, Quirk *et al.* describe the position of HE as follows:

> Hiberno-English, or Irish English, may also be considered as a national standard, for though we lack descriptions of this longstanding variety of English it is consciously and explicitly regarded as independent of BrE by educational and broadcasting services. The proximity of Great Britain, the easy movement of population, the pervasive influence of AmE, and like factors mean however that there is little room for the assertion and development of a separate grammar and vocabulary.
>
> (Quirk *et al.* 1985:21)

It seems doubtful to me whether HE, or any of its regional or social subvarieties for that matter, is indeed 'consciously and explicitly' deemed to be a prestige variety and hence a standard in the sense described by Quirk *et al.* Nonetheless, the authors are justified in their scepticism about the 'assertion and development' of a HE norm at the level of grammar and lexicon. As Harris (1993:139) points out in his description of Irish English grammar, some of its most distinctive features are 'nonstandard' exactly in the sense that they are not codified in grammars or dictionaries and hence do not constitute institutionalised norms. This, he adds, does not mean that they would be random deviations from StE grammar; nonstandard varieties have their own systems or rules (ibid.). The existence of an Irish standard is also in most expressive terms denied by Hayden and Hartog in their description of the situation at the turn of the century:

> The reader must bear in mind that there is, naturally, no standard for IE [Irish English]. Its constituents may be said to exist everywhere, for it enters into the speech of everyone brought up in Ireland, however long he may live abroad, so that it is influencing the standard diction of America; it enters into the speech of every denizen. But the proportions vary with social rank, profession, locality, and circumstances.
>
> (Hayden and Hartog 1909:946–7)

In a similar vein, Bliss (1979:173), writing on the situation in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, states that 'Hiberno-English was never a written language: the few Irishmen able to write English would aim to write standard English'. There is little support for the notion of StIrE in research on later stages of HE either. Lass (1987:263) focuses on what he describes as a 'standard' type of HE, but adds that this term does not refer to the upper-class or anglicised varieties. What Lass evidently has in mind here could be described as 'general' or 'common HE vernacular', a notion which has to do with the question of the uniformity versus heterogeneity of HE dialects rather than with the existence of a common normative standard for HE usage. This distinction is already explicitly discussed by Hogan (1927/1970:62), who speaks of 'Common Anglo-Irish' as a 'reality', but denies it being anything like a 'Standard Language'. Some forty years earlier, Hume had described what he called 'the Irish dialect [of English]' as a 'national' dialect. However, his delimitation of this concept makes it clear that the Irish dialect has no status as a standard:

> It drops the characteristics which prevail only in Belfast, Cork, Dublin, or Galway; and embraces none but those which are more or less common to the whole thirty-two shires.
>
> (Hume 1878:14)

The major positions on the issue of uniformity will be briefly outlined in section 3.4, and since the present study involves comparisons between different

regional varieties of HE, this topic will be further pursued in the following chapters.

3.2 Types of explanation offered in previous research

3.2.1 Substratum versus superstratum

Although the question of the inputs from the Irish substratum versus the earlier English superstratum has already been touched on in the previous sections, it is here looked at from the methodological point of view and also in the light of some long-term trends in the research on HE. Filppula (1993) seeks to demonstrate that most studies of HE grammar (and phonology) tend to adopt one or other of the concepts of substratum and superstratum as their main explanatory principle. Up to a point one can even speak of 'substratist' as against 'superstratist', or 'retentionist', views (see also Kallen 1994). In some cases these opposing views are so clearly articulated that they form what have in the history of science come to be known as research 'paradigms' in the sense of Kuhn (1962/1970).

As is argued in Filppula (1993), a certain shift of emphasis from substratum to superstratum accounts has taken place in the field over the last few decades. Although such pioneering studies as Hayden and Hartog (1909), Joyce (1910/1988), van Hamel (1912), Henry (1957), and Bliss (1979 and 1984a) recognise the input from earlier English, there can be no doubt that their main emphasis is placed on the influence of the Irish substratum upon HE. While the substratist position is, generally speaking, characteristic of much of the earlier research, it would be wrong to suggest that this line of research has now been abandoned. Work carried out by, e.g. Raymond Hickey (see, e.g. Hickey 1983a and 1983b), Terence Odlin (see, e.g. Odlin 1992, 1997a and 1997b), Karen Corrigan (see Corrigan 1997a and 1997b), Roibeárd Ó hÚrdail (see Ó hÚrdail 1997), and also by the present author has brought to light a wealth of evidence for the impact of Irish upon HE grammar.

Works which have stressed the role of dialect diffusion instead of contact-influences include, e.g. Harris (1983, 1984a, and 1986). In these papers Harris argues for a superstatal, i.e. (probably dialectal) EModE, source for some features of the HE tense and aspect systems, though he reserves an indirect, 'reinforcing', role for the Irish substratum as well. A similar reassessment of the earlier substratist position is made in Kallen (1986) with respect to the expression of the habitual aspect category in HE. As for HE phonology, Harris (1990) and Lass (1990) have adduced evidence which similarly suggests Early Modern sources for some of the distinctive features which had earlier been attributed to direct Irish influence. Lass carries the 'retentionist' programme farthest, and, as was noted above, in fact denies that HE is a contact-English at all. His view on the nature of HE is a logical consequence of the general methodological principle that he formulates as follows:

> Given the choice between (demonstrable) residue [of earlier forms of English] and (putative) contact-influence, the former is the more parsimonious and hence preferred account.
>
> (Lass 1990:148)

This study aims to address the problem of substratum versus superstratum empirically on the basis of data drawn from as wide a range of sources as possible. Continuing the line of research adopted in my previous work on HE grammar, special attention is paid to the documentation of the possible superstratal parallels, which in my view have not been examined in such detail as is necessary. In the domain of grammar, in particular, it is not enough to merely note the existence of a structural parallel, without due regard to such factors as the full syntactic and functional range of the feature at issue, its semantics, and various extralinguistic factors which may be equally relevant. As is noted in Filppula and Sarhimaa (1994), structural parallels are more often than not only partial—sometimes with no exact analogue in either of the possible source languages or varieties—or they have both a substratal and a superstratal source. In such cases, establishing the origin of a given feature is often difficult and can hardly ever be based on just one type of evidence, or indeed, on one rigid methodological principle such as the one advocated by Lass (1990). Viable alternative methodologies have been put forward, for example, by Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who present a carefully worked-out model of contact-induced change including a whole array of linguistic and extralinguistic factors to be reckoned with. An assessment of its applicability to the case of HE is made in Filppula (1995). Another fruitful approach is articulated by Odlin, who suggests the following criteria for establishing 'transferability' of linguistic features and hence substratum influences:

> I. If a structure is transferable, much if not all of its distributional range in the substrate should be evident in the interlanguage 'recreation' of the superstrate.
> II. If a structure is transferable in one language contact situation, it should be, *ceteris paribus,* transferable in another.
> III. If a structure is transferable, it should be especially likely in 'border regions' between two linguistic areas.
>
> (Odlin 1992:180)

As will be seen from the discussion in the following chapters, criteria like these can be useful in trying to distinguish between dialect diffusion and language contact.

3.2.2 Language and dialect convergence (adstratum)

In this section I wish to draw attention to a point of view which has been almost completely ignored in previous research on HE, namely the possibility

of language and/or dialect convergence. By this I mean linguistic developments which take place in conditions of long-standing close contact between speakers of different languages or dialects and which in the course of time lead to structural isomorphism between the grammars of these languages or dialects. In the general literature on language contacts, this kind of phenomenon is usually referred to by the term *Sprachbund,* which according to Lehiste (1988: 59) was first introduced by Nikolai Trubetzkoy and subsequently developed into the notion of 'linguistic alliance' in a seminal article by Roman Jakobson (Jakobson 1931). For Lehiste, *Sprachbund* is a concept which embraces both the geographical area within which the languages at issue are spoken, a 'language convergence area', and the languages themselves. She explains this as follows:

> The observation has frequently been made in different parts of the world that some languages spoken in the same geographical area share typological features, even though they may be related only remotely or not at all. Such languages are said to constitute a *Sprachbund,* a language convergence area and the languages spoken within that area, in which genetic heterogeneity is gradually replaced by typological homogeneity.
>
> (Lehiste 1988:59)

The *Sprachbund* situation usually entails maintenance of the languages involved, and it is therefore sometimes called an 'adstratum' situation, while the languages are said to be in an adstratum relationship to each other (Lehiste 1988:61). The type of borrowing involved in this kind of situation can accordingly be termed 'adstratal convergence'. Further cornerstones of the *Sprachbund* hypothesis are bidirectionality—or, which is perhaps more often the case, multidirectionality—of linguistic interference, and a large-scale cultural assimilation and blending of the cultural traits of the populations involved. The classic example of a *Sprachbund* at the syntactic level is the development of the so-called Balkanisms shared by the languages involved in the Balkan *Sprachbund* (for further discussion and other examples, see Lehiste 1988:61–5; Thomason and Kaufman 1988:95–7).

It is easy to see why linguists have generally speaking steered clear of the study of convergence areas and adstratal influences: the multidirectionality of contacts means that it is impossible to identify conclusively the source of any given feature shared by the languages involved, and hence, the direction of interference. Thomason and Kaufman justify their lack of interest in *Sprachbund* situations by saying that

> [t]he reason for these omissions [of examples of *Sprachbund* situations from their discussion] is that our interest in unraveling the causes, effects, and mechanisms of contact-induced language change has led us to focus on two-language contact situations in which the

> direction of interference can be definitely established. Sprachbund situations are notoriously messy.
>
> (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:95)

In another context, Thomason and Kaufman (1988:118) also point to the methodological problems involved in distinguishing between the linguistic effects of the adstratum, on the one hand, and those of the sub- or superstratum, on the other.

Despite these unappealing methodological problems, convergence areas have become one of the most recent avenues to be explored in language-contact studies (see, e.g. Sarhimaa's work on contacts between Russian, Karelian, and other Finno-Ugric languages in Karelia and the neighbouring areas, as reported in Sarhimaa 1997 and in Filppula and Sarhimaa 1994). Similar phenomena have also come to the fore in a new field of study known as 'areal linguistics', although it has as its main objective 'macro-level' typological similarities between the grammatical systems of languages rather than 'micro-level' similarities or dissimilarities, which are the focus of historically orientated research on convergence phenomena (see, e.g. Raukko and Östman 1994 on the so-called 'Baltic Area'). In the present study, the possibility of adstratal relationships between varieties involved in the language contact situation in Ireland, and more generally, between languages and varieties in the whole 'linguistic area' of the British Isles will be discussed on several occasions below (see, e.g. the discussion on nonstandard uses of the definite article in section 5.2, on 'periphrastic *do*' in section 6.3, and the concluding discussion in section 11.3).

3.2.3 Evidence from other 'Celtic Englishes'

Although the notion of 'Celtic English(es)' is novel and has yet to establish itself in dialectological terminology, the methodological idea of comparing the outcomes of contact situations in the Celtic lands goes back at least several decades, if not more. Gerard J.Visser's article on 'Celtic influence in English' (Visser 1955) can be mentioned as one of the first which explicitly puts two Celtic-influenced varieties, namely 'Anglo-Irish' and 'Anglo-Welsh', side by side and examines some syntactic features of these varieties against the backdrop of Celtic influence. Visser himself attributes the credit for the first 'scientific account of Celtic influence on English' to van Hamel's (1912) study of Anglo-Irish syntax (Visser 1955:277). However, van Hamel restricts himself to the Irish situation only and can therefore hardly be considered a pioneer of the wider 'pan-Celtic' or 'Celtic English' approach.

To my knowledge, the first major study to draw systematic comparisons between Celtic-influenced varieties is Sabban (1982). This study provides a thorough description of English spoken in the Hebrides, i.e. Hebridean English (HebE). Sabban makes frequent reference to constructions attested in 'Anglo-Irish' and 'Anglo-Welsh' dialects and uses these findings as evidence to corroborate

her hypotheses about the possible Celtic origins of some salient features of HebE grammar. Considering the striking degree of similarity between HebE and HE, in particular, which emerges on the basis of Sabban's study, it is remarkable that her work has passed almost unnoticed in the literature on HE until very recent times. The first HE scholar to draw attention to the significance of the HebE setting for HE studies in general, and to Sabban's findings in that context, is Terence Odlin. In Odlin (1992) he uses data drawn from a variety of contact situations all over the world, including both the Irish and Hebridean settings, to formulate a set of criteria for establishing substratum influences. As was already seen from the discussion in section 3.2.1, one of these (Criterion II) predicts the emergence of similar structures in contact situations which are sufficiently similar in other respects, and especially with regard to the relevant substratum languages. In his subsequent work, Odlin has continued to explore similarities between HE and HebE (see, e.g. Odlin 1997b) and has also inspired the present author to pursue a similar line of inquiry in this study and elsewhere (see, e.g. Filppula 1997a and b).

The notion of 'Celtic English(es)' was given a major impetus by the *First International Pilot Colloquium on the 'Celtic Englishes',* held in September, 1995, in Potsdam. Though disputed by some of the participants, especially if it was to refer to a more or less homogeneous variety of Celtic-influenced English in various parts of the British Isles (see, especially, Görlach 1997), the term was by many felt to be a useful 'working concept' in efforts to explain at least some of the features shared by varieties of English spoken in the Celtic lands (for further discussion, see the papers in Tristram (ed.) 1997). The fact that there was a sequel to the Colloquium, held in Potsdam in September 1998, indicates that there is growing interest in the 'Celtic English' dimension. The present study aims on its part to fill some of the gaps existing in this area.

3.2.4 Universals

Research based on linguistic universals in one sense or another is another fresh dimension of HE studies, which has been inspired by the advances made in the last few decades in general linguistic theory. The perspectives opened up by this line of inquiry are potentially vast, not least because of the many different types of universals discussed in the literature.

Perhaps the most familiar, and at the moment no doubt the most intensely researched, universals are those associated with so-called Universal Grammar (UG). UG theory sets out to capture the 'principles' and 'parameters' which apply to all languages and determine the choices available in a natural language grammar. In the field of HE studies this approach has so far received relatively little attention, but a constantly growing body of work shows that the Principles and Parameters framework is winning popularity. One of the pioneering papers

is Guilfoyle (1986). Having stated that the contact situation in Ireland in earlier centuries was basically one of second-language acquisition in a naturalistic setting, Guilfoyle goes on to formulate the general problem faced by the Irish speakers in terms of what she calls the 'parametric' approach as follows:

> If languages vary along certain parameters then part of the second language (L2) learners' task is to reset some of the parameters at the value of the target language.
>
> (Guilfoyle 1986:124)

Guilfoyle then specifies the kinds of situation in which 'transfer errors' have been said to typically occur: where the parameters of the mother tongue and the target language do not have the same values for a given parameter; where one has an 'unmarked' (i.e. cross-linguistically more common) value for a parameter, the other a 'marked' one; or, finally, where the target language is not 'consistent' with respect to a parameter (e.g. in the ordering patterns of the head and the other elements in NPs, VPs, etc.), which then leads the learner to fall back on the parameter settings of his own language. As Guilfoyle remarks, linguists have not yet reached agreement on which of these situations is the most likely to lead to transfer (Guilfoyle 1986:124–5). As examples of HE syntactic constructions which can be explained by the parametric approach, Guilfoyle discusses certain word order phenomena, nonstandard forms of cleft sentences, and so-called 'pro-drop' phenomena (i.e. sentences with no overt subject). Of these, cleft sentences will also be dealt with in this study (see section 10.2).

A more recent, and as yet the most comprehensive account based on the Principles and Parameters approach, is the study of Belfast English by Alison Henry (Henry 1995). As she notes, many of the syntactic features characteristic of Belfast English are shared by other varieties of HE. Those which are the most relevant to the present study include subject—verb agreement ('subject—verb concord' in my terminology) and inversion in embedded (indirect) questions. Henry's findings will be discussed in some detail in sections 6.4 and 7.3, respectively. Other recent work which has direct points of connection with topics dealt with in this study includes Cottell (1997), which is concerned with so-called 'VP-clefting' in HE (see section 10.2 for further discussion of Cottell's observations) and Doherty (unpublished), which is an analysis of so-called 'contact (relative) clauses' in HE and other varieties (see section 8.2). Karen Corrigan's work on the grammar of South Armagh English (SAE) must also be mentioned, as it covers several areas examined in this study. Corrigan (1997a) presents some preliminary results from the author's research on selected syntactic features of South Armagh dialect. Corrigan (1997b) is a doctoral dissertation containing a comprehensive account of a wide range of the distinctive features of SAE, set in their historical backgound and explained within the framework of the Principles and Parameters approach. The features investigated include, e.g. the tense and aspect systems of SAE, subject-verb concord, inversion in embedded

questions ('Embedded I°-to-C° Fronting' in her terminology), subordinating uses of the conjunction *and,* and relativisation strategies, including the use of resumptive pronouns (see Chapter 6 and other relevant sections of this study for further discussion). Finally, selected aspects of HE grammar such as I°-to-C° Fronting in embedded questions and the behaviour of 'negative polarity items' (see section 7.4) receive attention in some works focusing on Irish syntax or on general syntactic theory, e.g. McCloskey (1991, 1992) and Duffield (1993, 1995).

Another widely researched brand of universals is the typological and implicational universals, first formulated by Joseph H.Greenberg (see, e.g. Greenberg 1963/1976) and further elaborated in the work of, among many others, Bernard Comrie and Edward Keenan (see, e.g. Keenan and Comrie 1977; Comrie 1981). Universals of this type have been arrived at by comparing the surface-characteristics of as many languages as possible. The result is a typology of languages, which presents the properties of languages in the form of an implicational hierarchy: 'if a given language has some property *x,* it will also have properties *y, z…n*'. For example, if the principal word order of a language is VSO (as in Irish), it will also have a system according to which an adjective attribute follows its head-word (as is, again, most often the case in Irish). Note, however, that despite the term 'universal (feature)', the typological and implicational universals are not claimed to be absolute in nature, i.e. true of every single language; they are statistical generalisations which refer to tendencies rather than to indispensable or necessary features.

One influential model of grammar which can be considered to be based on typological and implicational universals is the Functional Grammar (FG) developed by the Dutch linguist Simon Dik (see, e.g. Dik 1978, 1980). Among other things, Dik claims universal status for a set of 'rules' concerning the preferred order of constituents in a sentence. These rules and their applicability to the case of HE have been discussed in Filppula (1990), which is concerned with alternative explanations for so-called 'topicalisation' phenomena (see section 10.3). The most consistent efforts to apply the FG framework to HE have, however, been made by J.L.Kallen, who in Kallen (1989) and (1990), for example, provides detailed analyses of the HE systems of tense and aspect marking in the light of FG (for further discussion, see especially Chapter 6 on HE perfects and on the use of *do (be)* as a habitual aspect marker).

A third type of universals is those which have been claimed to pertain to the language acquisition process in general, and to second-language acquisition (SLA) in language contact situations, in particular. Of course, part of what is here subsumed under the heading of SLA approach falls within the sphere of the universalist Principles and Parameters school (see the discussion of Guilfoyle's work above), but at the same time there is a lot of SLA-oriented research which does not commit itself to the basic tenets of that theoretical framework. As Odlin (1989:19) notes, interest in the possibility of universal processes of acquisition (of one type or another) arose largely as a result of

the shortcomings of so-called Contrastive Analysis. The latter originally set out to prove that differences between languages lead to significant learning difficulties. Though it failed in this task, comparative research did manage to produce evidence which shows that, despite widely different language backgrounds, there is a certain degree of similarity in the types of errors made by learners. Since these similarities extend to both first- and second-language acquisition, many researchers have argued that all language acquisition proceeds along a basically similar course. The succession of structures acquired by learners form a developmental sequence, which is largely similar across languages; typical errors committed by beginning learners are in this approach interpreted as developmental errors (for more detailed discussion and references, see Odlin 1989:20–21).

As regards language contact situations, the ideas stemming from SLA studies have found particularly far-reaching applications in the study of creoles. What has raised the question of possible universals in creole settings are the well-known observations on structural similarities between creoles which are not genetically related and which have developed independently of each other in different parts of the world. These similarities include, e.g. movement rules (moving focused constituents to sentence-initial position), features of article usage, the use of 'free', preverbal, morphemes to express tense, modality and aspect, general use of double or multiple negation, omission of the copula in certain contexts, and the use of so-called 'serial verb' structures (see, e.g. Bickerton 1981, Ch. 2; Holm 1988, Ch. 5; Romaine 1988:47–69).

In the context of HE, the SLA point of view has not yet been systematically pursued, but there are several features of HE grammar for which an explanation in terms of SLA universals is a possibility (among others). These include, for instance, the use of inversion in indirect questions (see section 7.3 for further discussion) and the occurrence of resumptive pronouns in relative and other clauses (see the discussion in section 8.2).

3.3 Dating of the formative period of Hiberno-English dialects

3.3.1 Medieval HE

As described in Chapter 2, Medieval HE (MedHE) or the 'Old English' of Ireland represents the earliest stage in the development of the Irish dialects of English. Despite the scant documentation of the grammar of HE dialects in this period, there has been little controversy about the basic historical facts surrounding the emergence of MedHE. The most comprehensive accounts of the extant sources and their linguistic features are provided by Hogan (1927/1970), McIntosh and Samuels (1968), Bliss (1984b), Bliss and Long (1987), and Kallen (1994), who also gives a useful survey of the linguistic research done on the surviving medieval texts.

The main point of contention, as already mentioned in Chapter 2, is the question of the extinction of MedHE and, thus, continuity between the medieval and early modern varieties. Up till recently, the prevailing view has held that there is little if any continuity between these phases. This has been challenged, for example, by Kallen (1994:155–6), who argues that the earlier accounts have laid too much stress on 'signs of loss of English at the expense of noting evidence of bilingualism'. His own conclusion, based on contemporary reports on the linguistic situation, is that MedHE continued to be one of the languages spoken among the Anglo-Irish population.

Pending further research on the medieval sources it seems hard to pass conclusive judgment on the issue of continuity. What also hampers progress in this area is the sparseness of evidence from the early modern period as well. This is a problem we turn to next.

3.3.2 Early modern origins

The foregoing discussion has already made it clear that the 'Old English' of the medieval period may after all have survived to some extent especially in towns and thus provided one of the strands merging with the kinds of English which began to emerge in the early modern period. This does not, however, change the fact that a second major phase in the introduction of English into Ireland began with the late sixteenth- and especially with the mid-seventeenth-century plantations. Thus, Hogan (1927/1970:53) speaks of 'the Second Anglo-Irish Civilization, which continues in the blend of modern Ireland'. The mid-seventeenth century also marks the period which has in the literature generally been seen as crucial from the point of view of the formation of modern HE dialects—or 'New English', as Hogan (1927/1970:55) puts it. In Hayden and Hartog's (1909:775) words, '[p]robably the rise of our dialect, or at least its extension beyond the English Pale, dates from the middle of the seventeenth century—that is, from the time of the great Cromwellian settlements'. Others subscribing to the 'standard' view include Bliss (1984a:135), who traces the basic features of the phonological system of HE back to the sounds of mid-seventeenth-century English (see also Lass 1990:148). Henry (1977:20), too, considers the 'germinal' period of what he calls Hiberno-English (as distinct from the later, predominantly rural, variety which he terms Anglo-Irish) to be the seventeenth century. Finally, despite his reservations concerning the extinction of MedHE, Kallen (1994:163) also endorses the broad division of the history of HE into the medieval and the modern phases.

Though widely accepted, the standard account of the importance of the seventeenth century is not without its problems. Seventeenth-century roots are undoubtedly well documented as far as the phonology of HE dialects is concerned, but matters are not so straightforward in the domain of grammar. It is noteworthy that on the basis of the extant records some of the grammatical features usually associated with HE are either rare in the early modern texts

or emerge rather late. For example, Bliss himself draws attention to the earliest attestations of the various *do be* forms and the so-called *after* perfect (in its present-day aspectual meaning) in HE texts written about 1700 (Bliss 1979: 293, 300; see also Guilfoyle 1983:25–6). This is confirmed by Kallen (1990), who also notes the scarcity of other, now familiar, features in the early modern texts, including certain types of perfects. Similar observations have been made by Montgomery (1995) on the occurrence of habitual *do be/be(s)* forms in texts representing northern dialects of HE; these forms do not in fact emerge until the mid-nineteenth century (see the discussion in section 6.3). Facts like these lead one to consider the possibility that the most crucial period in the shaping-up of HE grammar, as we know it today, may be later than the seventeenth century. This will be further elaborated in the next section (see also the discussion in sections 6.2 and 6.3, in particular).

3.3.3 Nineteenth-century language shift

Besides linguistic factors already discussed in the foregoing section, there are several extralinguistic ones which suggest that the post-seventeenth-century period, and more specifically, the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, were more crucial from the point of view of the formation of HE grammar than the seventeenth century. General experience from language-contact situations shows that grammatical transfer typically occurs in conditions of intensive and relatively rapid language shift involving a large shifting group, 'imperfect learning', and widespread bilingualism (see, e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988:50). In the Irish setting, this was without doubt the situation especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. As was noted in section 2.2, the balance between the rival languages remained relatively stable throughout the eighteenth century, with Irish holding on to most of its former positions. Bilingualism had, however, gradually started to spread, and after about 1800 the rate and intensity of language shift increased dramatically, leading to an almost complete transformation of the language situation by the end of the nineteenth century (see the statististics in section 2.2). In the literature, the significance of the nineteenth century has been recognised, most notably, by P.L.Henry, who, as mentioned above, establishes the roots of 'Anglo-Irish' in the mixture of Irish and English (or Irish and Scots in the north of Ireland) in nineteenth-century rural Ireland (see, e.g. Henry 1977:20). Another writer concurring with this dating (and terminology) is Garvin, who states that Anglo-Irish

> owes its peculiarities to borrowings from the Irish language which took place mainly in the nineteenth century, when both Irish and English were in common use by a large proportion of the population.
> (Garvin 1977:100)

Furthermore, it should be noted that even Bliss, who otherwise emphasises the role of the seventeenth-century developments, acknowledges that '[w]e shall not go far wrong if we assume that the general acquisition of the English language by the people of Ireland hardly began until after 1800' (Bliss 1977a: 16). On the other hand, one cannot ignore the influence on HE grammar of the incipient bilingualism in the previous century. Thus, Guilfoyle, writing on the late emergence of periphrastic *do* as a marker of habitual aspect in HE, explains it by the rise of bilingualism in the eighteenth century (Guilfoyle 1983:30).

Further evidence of the importance of the post-seventeenth-century period, and especially of the nineteenth century, will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. This includes data from texts written in the nineteenth century which show interesting variation in the use of, e.g. *after* perfects between the earliest forms (with non-past meaning) and the ones familiar from present-day usage (see the discussion in section 6.2).

3.4 Uniformity versus heterogeneity of Hiberno-English dialects

The most important dialect division among the Irish dialects of English has traditionally been drawn along the north/south axis. At the northern end, dialects spoken roughly in the area comprising the historical province of Ulster with its nine counties form what could be called 'northern HE', whereas the speech in the other three provinces, i.e. Leinster, Connacht, and Munster, is the domain of 'southern HE' (see, e.g. Adams 1985; Bliss, *no date;* Harris 1984b). Within northern HE, there is a further division into Ulster Scots (or Scotch-Irish) and variants of what is commonly termed 'Ulster English': Mid-Ulster English, spoken in areas around Belfast and reaching as far west as Donegal, and South Ulster English, spoken in the southern parts of Ulster (Harris 1984b:115–16). Some researchers consider Ulster Scots to be so distinctive as to keep it apart from the other dialects (see, especially, Henry 1977:20, for whom it represents the 'third strand' in the English of Ireland alongside Anglo-Irish and Hiberno-English).

As Harris notes, the traditional criteria for dialect boundaries are based on vocabulary, vowel quality and the lexical distribution of phonemes. Harris himself proposes a more abstract typology, which focuses on differences in vowel quantity. On this basis, he argues, HE dialects north and south can be said to be located on a continuum of 'more Scots' or 'more English' varieties, with the former tending towards the phonological characteristics of Lowland Scots and the latter towards those of the dialects of England (Harris 1984b: 115–16). In like manner, Kallen (1994:175) cautions against drawing 'a total cleavage' between northern and southern varieties.

Within southern HE, there do not appear to be equally well-defined subdivisions, and most researchers are content to point out a general division into rural and urban dialects. The latter have been said to contain some survivals of medieval

features, although at the same time they have been more open to influences from outside Ireland (Bliss, no date: 5). A similar rural-urban divide can also be considered to be behind Henry's distinction between Anglo-Irish as referring to characteristically rural varieties and Hiberno-English as a designation of primarily urban varieties (Henry 1977:20). Apart from this distinction, southern HE has been claimed to be relatively uniform by, e.g. Adams (1977: 56), Barry (1982:110) and Bliss, who emphasises the homogeneity of southern HE as follows:

> [...] perhaps the most remarkable feature of the present-day Anglo-Irish dialects is their relative uniformity. Of course there are regional differences; it is usually possible to recognise from a man's accent what part of the country he comes from. Yet in the three southern provinces, at least, there are fewer basic differences than one might expect.
>
> (Bliss 1977a:18–19)

Bliss explains the uniformity in terms of the prevailing method of the transmission of English:

> In areas where Irish has been long lost, Irish influence is still strong, because English has been handed down from teacher to pupil in unbroken tradition since the days when Irish was still spoken; and in areas where Irish has only recently given place to English, the English used is very conservative, because the language of the teachers was itself conservative.
>
> (Bliss 1977a:19)

The influence of Irish can be said to extend even into northern HE: Harris (1984b:118) notes that traces of it can be found to varying degrees in most types of northern HE, and particularly at the syntactic level. Besides the method of transmission, one can point out other factors which have contributed to the levelling of differences especially in southern HE. Thus Thomason and Kaufman (1988:43) mention the numerical strength of shifting speakers as a factor which explains why Irish-influenced English is spoken not only by descendants of Irish speakers but by descendants of English-speaking settlers. The sheer pressure of numbers, they suggest, may well have overridden the lack of any positive motive on the part of the English settlers for adopting the Irish-influenced dialect of the indigenous population.

Whatever the factors explaining the relative uniformity of especially southern HE dialects are, it is clear that possible differences at the grammatical level are best described as ones in degree rather than kind. This view, implicit in Bliss's thesis on the uniformity, receives some support from my own studies in the distribution of some syntactic features in HE dialects (see, e.g. Filppula 1986, 1991a, 1994a), and further evidence of this will be discussed in this

study. This is not to say that there are no qualitative grammatical differences between HE dialects; the discussion in the following chapters will reveal several such differences between the most Irish-influenced (south)western rural dialects, on the one hand, and the eastern dialects, and especially urban speech, on the other. However, generally speaking, we are here dealing with *dialect continua* rather than with discrete dialects, each with their own distinctive grammars.

3.5 Terminological issues

The foregoing discussion has already brought to light the motley terminology used in the literature for the Irish dialects of English. What complicates matters even more is the significance attached to the choice of term by some scholars. P.L.Henry's distinction between 'Anglo-Irish' and 'Hiberno-English' can once more be mentioned as an example (see the discussion in section 3.4 above). Another scholar subscribing to the same terminology is Moylan (1996). 'Anglo-Irish' is also the term used by Hogan (1927/1970), but in a different, wider, sense: for him, it covers the English language as spoken in Ireland in general and can be further divided into Medieval or Middle Anglo-Irish and Modern Anglo-Irish (with no presumption of continuity between the two, though). Writing a couple of decades earlier, van Hamel (1912), too, uses the term 'Anglo-Irish' throughout his article, though he offers no comment on his choice of term. From the fact that his database is drawn mainly from the literary works of Yeats and Synge, it can be gathered that for him 'Anglo-Irish' also denotes the artistic representation of English in Ireland. It is indeed customary even today to refer to the English literature written by Irish people as 'Anglo-Irish literature'. In recent linguistic and dialectological studies, however, the term 'Anglo-Irish' is not so common, notwithstanding Henry's and Moylan's usage.

'Hiberno-English' is the term launched and propagated by Alan Bliss in most of his writings (one of the few exceptions being Bliss 1977a, where the term 'Anglo-Irish' is used throughout). One could surmise that Swift's *A Dialogue in Hybernian Stile* inspired Bliss's choice of terminology (see Bliss's edition of this text in Bliss 1977b); be that as it may, 'Hiberno-English' has come to be used by a great many linguists as a general term for the Irish dialects of English (see, e.g. Hickey 1983a and b, Harris 1984a and b, Guilfoyle 1983 and 1986, Lass 1986 and 1987, Dolan 1988, Britton and Fletcher 1990, Corrigan 1990, Croghan 1990, McCloskey 1991, Odlin 1997a and b, Ó hÚrdail 1997, and van Ryckeghem 1997; see also works by the present author).

'Irish English' has been gaining ground in the most recent research, although Hayden and Hartog (1909) can be mentioned as early advocates of this usage. An alleged advantage of this term over Anglo-Irish or Hiberno-English is its neutrality. Thus Kallen (1994:150) justifies his use of the term by saying that '[i]n order to avoid confusion, *Irish English* is used here as a general term without any further implications […]'.[4] Others opting for this term more or less consistently include Harris in his recent works (see, e.g. Harris 1990 and

1993), Clarke (1997), Kirk (1997) and Ó Baoill (1997), but there is also a certain amount of free variation between Irish English and Hiberno-English in the usage of some scholars (including the present author).

After long deliberations I have chosen to use the term 'Hiberno-English' in this study as a general term for Irish dialects of English, without any historical or other implications. It already has a certain tradition within the field of study and also seems established enough in the more general linguistic literature and international usage. The other terms, too, will occasionally appear in references to other studies, and of course, in citations from authors who use them.

4

DATABASES AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this study aims to provide a descriptive and historical account of some of the most distinctive features of HE grammar. In order to fulfil its objectives, this study is corpus-based, i.e. the discussion draws as much as possible on data obtained from sources representing actual HE vernacular as it is spoken today and, insofar as data are available, in its past forms. The primary data come from a tape-recorded corpus of present-day HE speech. The composition and nature of the material is described in section 4.2.1; the following section (4.2.2) provides an outline of the linguistic situation in the dialect areas represented in the HE corpus. The earlier stages of HE grammar are examined on the basis of a variety of sources, including manuscripts and literary or other texts depicting earlier forms of HE vernacular. The former consist mainly of letters written by Irish people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An account of the early HE sources and their usefulness is given in section 4.2.3.

Because of the often complicated nature of the issues relating to the origins of HE features, no single source is adequate to provide the evidence needed; therefore, I have had to compile, or make use of, databases or corpora representing other than Irish varieties of English. The earlier stages of (English) English form an important point of comparison, and for that purpose I have used the diachronic part of the machine-readable *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (see section 4.3.1 for details and discussion of the limitations of this corpus). Another essential aspect is the possible use of similar syntactic features in present-day British English (BrE) dialects. To complement the picture obtainable from the rather scant literature on this area, I have compiled machine-readable corpora and databases from some existing sources comprising a number of BrE dialects. These are described in detail in section 4.3.2. A third point of comparison is formed by the varieties of English spoken in the other Celtic lands, most notably in certain parts of Scotland and Wales. The data from these varieties, here collectively termed 'Celtic English(es)', are introduced in section 4.3.3. Finally, comparisons will of course be made throughout the study on the basis of existing literature with many other varieties which display the feature or

features at issue and are therefore relevant to the discussion. Scots, Scottish English, and American English are examples of this category.

4.2 Data from Hiberno-English

4.2.1 A corpus of HE speech

The description of the HE features examined in this study rests primarily on data obtained from a machine-readable corpus of HE speech, henceforth referred to as 'the HE corpus'. This corpus represents four broadly defined varieties of southern HE: the rural dialects spoken in Counties Clare and Kerry in the (south)west of Ireland, the rural dialect of the eastern county of Wicklow, and the urban speech of Dublin City. Further description of the dialect areas is given in section 4.2.2 (see also the Map of Ireland on page xvii).

The corpus consists of openly recorded, yet fairly informal, interviews with 24 elderly persons: 6 from Clare, 5 from Kerry, 7 from Wicklow, and 6 from Dublin. All but three were males. The combined length of the recordings is some 20 hours, which amounts to a total of approximately 158,000 words of text (excluding the contributions of the interviewers). The recordings were carried out in various stages in the late 1970s and early 1980s by several people, including myself, who was responsible for about 60 per cent of all the recordings and for all of the fieldwork in Kerry. Four of the six sets of recordings from Clare were drawn from the sound and text archives of the Department of Irish Folklore (DIF) at University College Dublin.[1] The tapes selected for linguistic analysis are openly recorded interviews with four elderly males and about topics which are very similar to those of my own recordings (see below). This material was supplemented with two similar interviews conducted by a journalist working for R.T.É. (Raidió Teilifís Éireann).[2] The material representing Wicklow dialect was recorded by myself, with the exception of one recording which was again selected from the archives of the Department of Irish Folklore. The Dublin material was similarly supplemented with two interviews obtained from the same Department; they were collected in 1975 and 1980 by two persons working for the so-called Urban Folklore Project, organised by the DIF. (See Appendix 1 for further details.[3])

The persons interviewed, or 'informants' in the usual dialectological jargon, can all be said to represent the 'traditional vernacular' of their respective localities. All were 'born and reared' in or close to their localities, and with a few exceptions, had spent all their lives in the same area. In the interest of minimising the effect of various extra-linguistic factors, the level of education and social status of the informants were about the same. None had received any more than National School education. All informants from the rural areas worked, or had worked, most of their lives in the traditional profession of farming, including sheep- and horse-keeping, cattle-breeding, etc. Those from Dublin represented a variety of traditional working-class occupations: (retired) labourers,

modest clerical work, street-trading, service in the British and Irish armies, or 'various little jobs', to use the expression of one of the interviewees. One was a retired fisherman, having first started as a docker at the Dublin Port. The ages of the informants ranged from 50 to 95 years (at the time of recording), but most were in their sixties or seventies. The informants' knowledge of Irish varied mainly according to their regional background: those from Clare and Kerry all reported at least some knowledge of Irish, although it seemed to vary between an almost native-like command and 'a few words and phrases'. However, their parents or at least grandparents had all had Irish as their first language. By contrast, the informants from Wicklow and Dublin had little or no knowledge of Irish; only the youngest of the six interviewees from Wicklow had studied it at school, whereas a few of the Dubliners had received some instruction in Irish. A more detailed description of the language situation in the areas investigated is given in section 4.2.2 (see also Appendix 1 for further personal details of the informants).

The form of the interviews was relatively free. No questionnaires were used by any of the interviewers, but the conversations revolved around largely similar topics: they included aspects of the personal background and work of the informant, matters of local interest, local history, traditions and tales, future prospects of the area, etc.[4] To avoid the negative effect of the Observer's Paradox, the informants were not made aware of the linguistic objectives in those cases where I myself acted as interviewer; in the material drawn from the sound and text archives of the Department of Irish Folklore and of R.T.É this was no problem, since their aims were not linguistic in the first place. The interview setting imposes some obvious limitations on the register, but they need not be so severe as is sometimes assumed (for general discussion, see, e.g. Milroy 1987): my experience is that, in the case of the older generations in particular, interviewees soon get used to the presence of the recording equipment and after a 'warming-up' period seem to ignore it. It was my policy throughout to obtain long stretches of speech from each informant to ensure that the conversation got going as freely as possible.[5] For various practical reasons there was some variation in the lengths of the recordings, which range from about 30 to 90 minutes, the average being some 50 minutes. Illustrative samples of the interviews are given in Appendix 2.

The method of transcription was 'orthographic', i.e. no attempt was made to represent the prosodic aspects of utterances, except for pauses, hesitations, simultaneous talk, and unclear or incomprehensible words or syllables. Omission of irrelevant parts of the text as well as the interviewer's questions or other contributions were also marked. In the following chapters, the home county and initials of the informant will be mentioned in brackets after all the examples quoted from the HE corpus. The transcription symbols used are as follows:

= = = = = =	hesitation or pauses of different lengths
*	beginning or end of simultaneous talk

{but?} {3 to 4 sylls}	unclear or incomprehensible word(s) or syllables
[…]	omission of irrelevant part of text
[Is that so?]	question or other contribution by the interviewer

4.2.2 The linguistic situation in the areas investigated

A central criterion in the choice of the areas was recentness of direct contact with the Irish language. While in Clare and Kerry Irish can still be said to be 'within living memory', in both Wicklow and Dublin it has by and large ceased to be spoken long ago as a language learned 'from the cradle'. Dublin speech can furthermore be assumed to have been the most open to influences from varieties spoken outside Ireland, and in this sense the four varieties can be expected to form a 'dialect continuum' with respect to the strength of influence from Irish. The discussion in the following chapters will show to what extent the comparative set-up will contribute to our knowledge about the influence of Irish on the HE dialects spoken in these areas.[6]

The Clare material was collected from a number of rural localities situated around Liscannor Bay, the nearest towns or villages being Liscannor, Lehinch and Milltown Malbay (see Map of Ireland on page xvii). The general linguistic situation in this area today is the same as in most other places in Ireland: Irish is no longer spoken, and English is the first language of the vast majority of the population. The process of the withdrawal of Irish can be traced, first, by the help of the official Census returns of 1851 and 1891. These reveal that in Co. Clare as a whole the percentage of the Irish-speaking population declined from 59.8 per cent in 1851 to 37.7 per cent in 1891. In the baronies of Corcomroe and Ibrickan, to which the above-mentioned localities belonged, the corresponding figures were 81.1 and 78.0 in 1851, as against 62.7 and 52.2 in 1891, respectively (Ó Cuív 1951:85). Another, and as noted in section 2.2, more reliable source is Fitzgerald's (1984) study. As was seen from the figures given in Table 2.1 for the counties as a whole, the proportion of Irish-speakers in Clare, which at the beginning of the nineteenth century was as high as 90 per cent, entered on a decline in the following decades, falling to 72 per cent in the period 1831–41, and further down to 33 per cent in the last period examined by Fitzgerald, i.e. 1861–71 (Fitzgerald 1984:127). It should, however, be borne in mind that the situation varied a lot from one part of Clare to another: the easternmost parts were anglicised first, whereas in many of the western baronies and parishes Irish retained fairly strong positions until almost the end of the century. Indeed, Fitzgerald notes that the situation in Clare was characterised by

> the remarkable strength of Irish in much of Clare right up to the end of the period under review [1771–1871], which contrasts strikingly with its subsequent rapid disappearance from this area.
>
> (Fitzgerald 1984:138)

The strong position of Irish is confirmed by the figures for those baronies where the ancestors of my Clare informants lived. Thus, in the baronies of Corcomroe and Ibrickan the percentages of Irish-speakers in 1861–71 were still 64 and 57, respectively (as against 33 for Co. Clare as a whole). Another sign of the Irishness of the area is the proportion of monoglots among Irish-speakers. In 1851, this was 31 per cent in Corcomroe and 18 per cent in Ibrickan (Fitzgerald 1984:152). On the whole, these statistics support the reports given by the informants on the general use of Irish amongst their grandparents and even parents.

In Kerry, the fieldwork was done in the parish of Caherdaniel, which is situated on the south-western corner of the Iveragh Peninsula, close to the Gaeltacht areas around Ballinskelligs (see Map of Ireland on p. xvii). In the village of Caherdaniel and in the immediately adjoining areas, Irish is no longer heard, although the older generations had spent their childhood in a strongly bilingual setting. All of the informants from this area reported that their parents and grandparents at least had had Irish as their first language; as was noted above, there was a good deal of variation in their own command of Irish. As in Clare, the position of Irish had stayed very strong in this part of Kerry until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The Census figures for the county as a whole indicate a drop in the number of Irish-speakers from 61.5 per cent in 1851 to 41.4 per cent in 1891. Caherdaniel and its environs were then part of the Barony of South Dunkerron, for which the figures were considerably higher: 83.0 per cent Irish-speaking in 1851, which went down to 59.2 per cent in 1891 (Ó Cuív 1951:88). All in all, the developments in these parts of Kerry were not that different from those in the Clare baronies mentioned above. This can also be read from Fitzgerald's statistics: they show that South Dunkerron had 72 per cent of its population Irish-speaking in the period 1861–71, which is just a little higher than in the Clare baronies of Corcomroe and Ibrickan (Fitzgerald 1984:133). There was, however, a noticeable difference in the numbers of monoglot Irish-speakers, which suggests a slightly stronger general position for Irish in Kerry than in Clare: in South Dunkerron their percentage in 1851 was still as high as 44, as against 33 and 18 in Corcomroe and Ibrickan, respectively (Fitzgerald 1984:152). The latest report on the language situation in the Caherdaniel area that has been available to me is Wagner (1958). The results of his survey of Irish dialects conducted between 1949 and 1956 showed that there were only a few houses along the coast between the towns of Waterville and Caherciveen where Irish was still used, but that a large amount of speech material was also collected in the area between Caherdaniel and Ballinskelligs (Wagner 1958:20).[7]

To move now to the east, the localities investigated in Wicklow were Killough, Calary, Downshill, Kilpedder and Toneygarrow. All are rural areas between Enniskerry and Roundwood, on the eastern flanks of the Wicklow Mountains south of the Great Sugar Loaf Mountain (see Map of Ireland). The position of Irish in this region is very different from that in Clare or Kerry. As de

Fréine (1977:75) states, most of County Wicklow had become English-speaking since 1750. About the year 1800, Irish seems to have held out in some restricted areas in the western parts of the Wicklow Mountains and in the mountain valleys of Glenasmole and Glencullen on the Co. Dublin side (de Fréine 1977:75). Among the factors which had probably contributed to the early withdrawal of Irish from the Wicklow area de Fréine mentions the originally sparse population, the heavy settlement by the eighteenth-century ascendancy and finally the mining industry which had brought English-speakers to the area. De Fréine's account is confirmed by the returns of the various population surveys carried out in the nineteenth century. Thus the surveyor working for the Statistical Survey of 1801 initiated by the Royal Dublin Society gave the following report on the position of Irish in Wicklow:

> It is very remarkable, that although the Irish language is common in all the counties around, in the county of Wicklow the Irish language is unknown. Nor did I find any of the natives of this county, even in the most remote vales in the midst of the mountains, accustomed to speak the Irish language.
>
> (cited in Ó Cuív 1951:81)

The Census of 1851 recorded a total of 135 Irish-speakers, which amounted to 0.1 per cent of the population of Wicklow. All were bilingual and spread throughout eight baronies (Ó Cuív 1951:81). In his comment on Wicklow, Fitzgerald (1984:138) notes '[t]he apparent absence of any *significant* trace of Irish in Wicklow'. He further points out that in the three nineteenth-century censuses Wicklow was the only county which failed to exceed the 2.5 per cent mark for Irish-speakers in any barony (ibid.). Against this background, it was not surprising to find that the informants from Wicklow had very little or no knowledge of Irish.

In Dublin City, which is the fourth area chosen for this study, the Irish language had lost all significant positions by the end of the eighteenth century. As Ó Cuív (1951:21) states, there were probably no Irish-speaking communities left at that time, although there may well have been individual speakers of Irish (as there are, of course, in present-day Dublin). The Census of 1851 recorded 1,281 Irish-speakers, which was 0.9 per cent of the then population of Dublin. Fitzgerald's estimates of the minimum levels of Irish-speaking in Dublin City produce a very similar result for the period 1851–61 (1 per cent), from which it went down to zero in the last period from 1861 to 1871 (Fitzgerald 1984:130). No attempt was made to limit my study to any particular part of Dublin City, and in the absence of scholarly accounts of the possible linguistic variation within it, and considering also the general mobility of the population, such an attempt would have been meaningless. However, the connections that I used to obtain informants in Dublin put me into contact with people who all lived—and most of whom had always lived—in the so-called Inner City area.

This part of Dublin, and especially the 'Northside', which was the home of most of my informants, used to be a predominantly working-class area up until very recently. Now it is undergoing a major transformation into a modern business centre, with a lot of new apartment-style housing being built for mainly middle-class, 'professional' people. On the other hand, this side of Dublin first started as a fashionable residential area in the Georgian period, and as Cosgrave (1909/1977:78) points out, even as late as a hundred years ago, 'it contained many fine residences'. Cullen (1992) explains how the northern part of the Inner City gradually declined from a place of upper-class residence to a heavily populated tenement district. On the Gardiner estate, which comprised areas east, south, and north of Mountjoy Square, there were but few tenements in 1850, but once begun, this process accelerated and led to a fall in house valuations around the area, eventually reducing the greatest part of the Gardiner estate to tenement status (Cullen 1992:272–3). This was accompanied by a huge increase in the population of the North Inner City: as Cullen (1992:274) points out, the population of the Mountjoy ward rose by 82 per cent between 1851 and 1911.

In choosing my Dublin informants, I adhered to the same criterion of minimum education as in the rural areas. In the urban context this means 'working-class' in a broad sense. As in Wicklow, the informants here had very little or no Irish; a few of them had, however, studied Irish at school (for further details, see the description of the informants in Appendix 1).

4.2.3 Manuscript sources and other evidence for early HE

Although it is possible to explain to some extent the past through the present, it is clear that evidence from the earlier stages of HE grammar is needed in order to explain the origins of its various features. While HE scholars agree on the importance of the historical aspect, very little work has so far been done in this field. One need not look far to find an explanation for this: what is holding back research is the paucity of extant records and other evidence for early HE. The only major body of data as yet published is the collection of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century texts assembled by Alan Bliss (Bliss 1979). To this could be added Bliss's edition of Swift's *A Dialogue In Hybernian Stile* (Bliss 1977b). The preceding centuries and also the nineteenth century are still very much *terra incognita,* as far as linguistic accounts of the vernacular forms of HE are concerned.

In order to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of the earlier stages of HE, I conducted research into the available sources on several occasions between 1992 and 1997 in various Irish libraries. These included The National Library, The Library of the Royal Irish Academy, the Library of Trinity College, and The Gilbert Library. The following is a summary of the types of texts there seem to be available, with some assessments of their usability as evidence for earlier stages of HE.

As my main guide to manuscript sources, I used Hayes (1966/1979), which is the most comprehensive list of the extant manuscripts of Irish origin, classified according to text-type, and with an indication of their current location. Kerby A.Miller's work on Irish emigrants' letters, and especially his Bibliography of Manuscript Sources contained in Miller (1985), were also extremely helpful in tracing those kinds of texts.[8] My searches focused on the following text-types: diaries, literature written by Irish writers (in manuscript form), 'commonplace books' (which are some kind of diaries or scrap-books containing personal notes on a wide variety of subjects, poems, recipes and remedies, and even illustrations), deeds and wills, pamphlets, and private correspondence.

Of these text-types, private correspondence turned out to be the most rewarding from the point of view of the purposes of this study. Diaries, by contrast, were disappointing in that all were written in standard language.[9] Commonplace books yielded no more information about the contemporary HE grammar even though some of them contained passages written in Irish.[10] Being official documents, deeds and wills were likewise written in formal standard language. A common feature of diaries, commonplace books, deeds, wills, and pamphlets was that they were written by people who quite evidently had a fair amount of education.

As noted above, private correspondence provided the most fruitful source for vernacular features. Unfortunately, there appear to be extremely few letters preserved from the pre-nineteenth-century period which would not be written in standard language. Below is a short extract from a letter dating from 1741 (or 1742), written probably from America by a certain Elli Mahon to her brother Thomas Mahon, who lived in Dublin. In this letter, which was the only pre-nineteenth-century one I found to be of any linguistic interest, the only notable Hibernicisms are in the spelling: e.g. *Shuger, Shuch, lave.*

> [...] I think it would be but kindin Brother Bartle to let me have the money he owes me for I belive this jouriny will cost me at least 300 pounds before I get home thou I have not lead out above 30 pounds in Cloath Since I came hear but what have lead out has been in Candles coals washing tea wine Shuger bord Lodgings docters and apothakery the docter has now decleard he would not come to me any more if I did not lave this Street for he thinks it to near the water and has sent me to St James is Street faceing constatushon hill I am willing to do any they derect for I Bless God I am Better then I have been this to years past I am to Stay here till the 12th of June and then I am to go to Tunbridge there I shall Stay till August and then hope in God I shall be releast'd from any more Shuch journeys for life I had aletter from my mother [packett?] which was the first I have hard from any one of you this to mounth my Duty to my Mother and Service to Brothers and Sisters and belive me my Dr Brother
>
> your aff^{t} Sister and Humble
> Sarvint Elli Mahon

(National Library of Ireland MSS 10,081–10,110: Pakenham-Mahon Papers; Elli Mahon: Letter to Thomas Mahon Esq. at his house in William Street, Dublin, March 10th, 1741/2)

Because of the dearth of sources from the pre-nineteenth-century period, I have had to rely on the texts contained in Bliss (1979) (cf. Guilfoyle 1983, 1986; Kallen 1990, who have used the same data). It is true that Bliss's collection of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century texts has been criticised for representing 'Stage Irish' rather than the vernacular varieties of early HE. Canny (1980), although he accepts Bliss's use of dramatic literature as evidence, argues that the language depicted by Irish characters in English plays tells more about the type of English spoken by Irish servants in England than about the kinds of English actually used in Ireland. O'Maolain (1980) also questions the genuineness of the material, noting especially the influence of the 'Anglo-Irish context', which according to him has in these texts led to overemphasis on parody, caricature, and 'ethnic slurring'. However, he acknowledges the merits of Bliss's analysis of the evidence, even though he is not altogether convinced by the author's conclusions about their reliability. Henry is perhaps the most critical of the reviewers: he discards the linguistic value of most of Bliss's texts as products of the 'wild Irish bias', claiming that the passages chosen by Bliss from various plays 'are written in a tone of ill-will and arrogance which reflects an underlying political animosity' (Henry 1981:319, 324). These criticisms undoubtedly manage to point out some of the major pitfalls in using the kind of evidence obtainable from Bliss's texts, but they do not render them worthless from the linguistic standpoint. Contrary to Henry (1981:319), who states that the 'lingo' represented in these texts is 'by definition a fabricated one', I would argue that, for the purposes of this study, it suffices to give us some idea of what kinds of grammatical construction were common especially in the speech of those who were in the process of learning English. The fact that most of the evidently Irish-influenced features are found in several different texts (not all of which are marked with the 'wild Irish bias') suggests a certain degree of reliability, although there is not enough 'hard' evidence for valid quantitative comparisons. Furthermore, many of the grammatical constructions occurring in these texts have continued to be part of HE grammar up to the present day (e.g. the use of 'periphrastic *do*', various types of perfects, and some features of article and pronoun usage). One has also to remember the shortage of other sources and the standard nature of language found in other extant records such as commonplace books, diaries, and the earliest letters.

Fortunately, the availability and quality of evidence for nineteenth-century HE usage is far better than for the two previous centuries. There are numerous letters written by people with little education, using a writing style which gives important clues as to the kinds of syntactic patterns used in the spoken language of the period. I have been able to assemble a small corpus which contains 42 letters from the 1850s to the end of the century. They include letters of the following kind (see Appendix 3 for a description of the provenance and other details of the writers):

- Letters written by prospective emigrants to a shipping agent based in Liverpool. These will be referred to as the Grimshaw Papers (National Library of Ireland MS 15,784). Most were written by the persons concerned themselves; in a few cases, the letter had been dictated to a 'scribe'.
- Letters written by Irish emigrants to their relatives in Ireland or vice versa. This was the largest and also most useful category, comprising the Green Papers (National Library of Ireland MS 11,428), the Oldham Papers (TCD MS 10,435), and the Deane Papers (TCD MS 6,893). Most of these were written without the help of a scribe. Figure 4.1 provides a photographic illustration of a page from one of the Oldham Papers.
- Letters sent by tenant farmers from Co. Mayo to the Lord of Arran (TCD MS 7,604). Most of these are complaints or petitions; some were evidently written by a scribe.

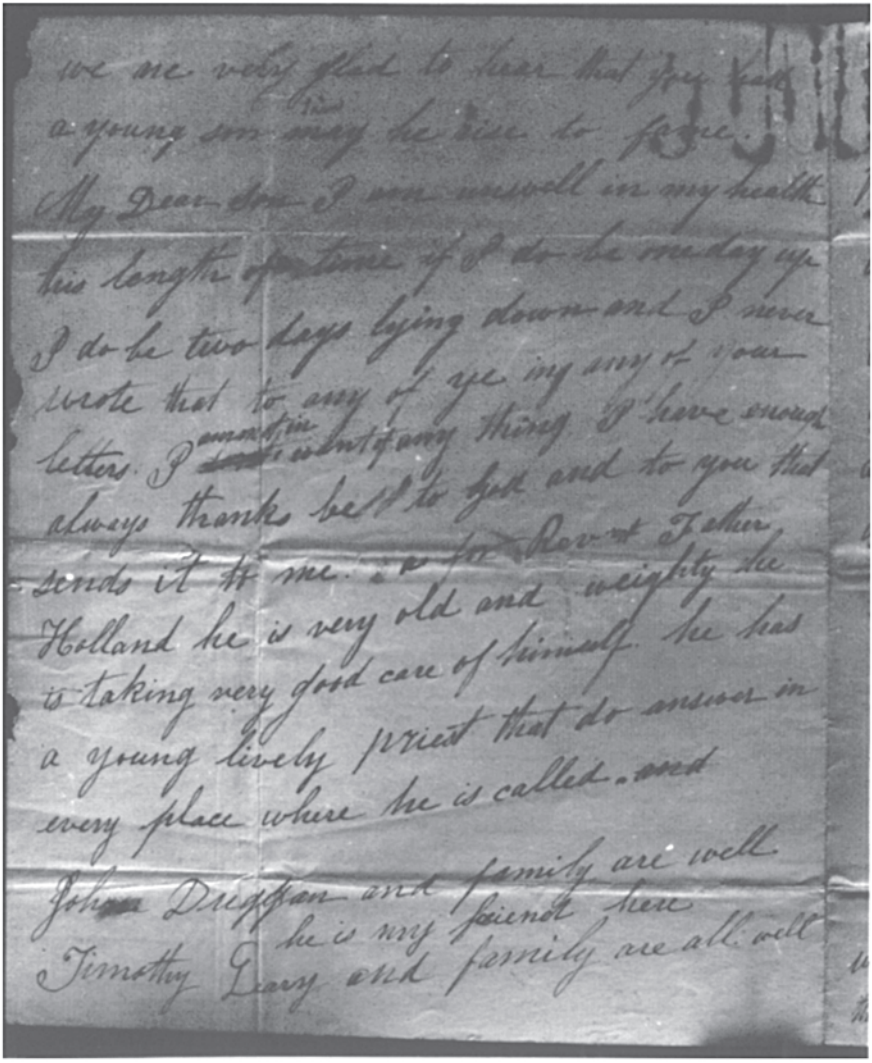
The size of this corpus is about 15,000 words. In addition to the letters mentioned above, I have made use of some of the sequences of emigrants' letters collected by David Fitzpatrick, published in Fitzpatrick (1994): the Normile, Burke, Hogan, and O'Sullivan Letters, which were written between 1853 and 1884.[11] This body of letters, 24 in all, adds some 21,000 words to my own corpus. All but one of the first-mentioned sequence (15 letters) are letters sent by Michael Normile, a farmer's son from Derry (Caheraderry), Co. Clare. He had emigrated to Australia in 1854 with his sister Bridget, who had also signed the first four letters. The eighth letter of this sequence, addressed to Michael Normile himself, was written by his stepmother's siblings Thomas and Hannah Doolan, also in Australia at the time. The author of the second sequence (3 letters) was Biddy Burke, who lived in Brisbane and was writing back to her family in Balrobuck Beg ('Ballybug'), Co. Galway. The next sequence, the Hogan Letters, consists of 4 letters written by Michael Hogan, a Co. Tipperary man, who had come to Australia as a convict. The O'Sullivan sequence, then, comprises only two letters, both penned by Edward O'Sullivan, who had set sail for Australia from Kenmare, Co. Kerry, in 1854. (For further details and background information, see Fitzpatrick 1994.)

Although the letters in the combined corpus were written by people from different regional backgrounds (quite a few of them from the west of Ireland, though) and represent different levels of formality, most of them came from people who evidently had only the minimum of education and limited literacy. As such, these letters form a fairly substantial source of evidence for the state of HE grammar in the decades of the most intense language shift. Michael Montgomery, who has examined similar letters written by emigrants from Ulster, arrives at the following assessment of their linguistic value:

> Of course, emigrant letters constitute only one source of documentary evidence that needs to be examined in reconstructing earlier varieties of English on both sides of the Atlantic, but, this paper argues,

they probably represent as rich a source as there is to be found.
(Montgomery 1995:40)

Finally, as yet another source of evidence, I have used examples picked out from some nineteenth-century literary works depicting HE vernacular speech.


we are very glad to hear that you had
a young son may he rise to fame.
My Dear Son I am middling well in my health
this length of time if I do be one day up
I do be two days lying down and I never
wrote that to any of ye my any of your
letters. I want for any thing I have enough
always thanks be to God and to you that
sends it to me. Our Revd Father
Holland he is very old and weighty he
is taking very good care of himself he has
a young lively priest that do answer in
every place where he is called.
John Dineen and family are well
he is my friend here
Timothy Leary and family are all well

One of these is a manuscript held in the National Library of Ireland (MS 4,696), dating from about 1830 and entitled *Tales told in Connaught*. The author is unknown, but this is an unbound text containing two tales: 'Cathal Croibdearg or The Old Nurse's Tale or Tales told in Connaught' and 'The Calligh Buey'. I have gone through the former, which consists of some 120 handwritten pages. Besides this manuscript source, I have made use of the published works of William Carleton and John Banim, whose writings are generally considered to provide a fairly accurate portrayal of nineteenth-century HE vernacular.[12] No attempt was made to conduct a comprehensive survey, which would be a topic for a separate study. My aim was rather to look for further documentation of some of the features found in the other sources or in the literature on HE.

4.3 Data from earlier and other varieties of English

4.3.1 The Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus of English texts

The Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus provides an important database illustrating the grammatical systems of EngE from its earliest Old English (OE) origins up to the end of the Early Modern English (EModE) period. In this study the Helsinki Corpus is used to shed light on EngE usage especially in those periods which have been argued to be the crucial ones from the standpoint of the formation of HE dialects. This means that the main focus will be on the EModE period, although in some cases it has been necessary to go further back in history to find out the long-term trends (see, especially, the discussion of certain types of perfects in section 6.2). The use of the Corpus will be selective in another sense, too: it is brought in whenever the literature does not provide sufficient evidence of the uses of a given feature.

The Helsinki Corpus is divided into three major chronological sections: Old English (up to 1150), Middle English (1150–1500), and Early Modern English (1500–1710). The combined total of the three sections is slightly under 1.6 million words. The texts included in the Corpus represent different text-types, styles, registers and, to some extent, even regional varieties. The text-types represented in the Corpus range from formal to relatively informal: at the formal end, there are extracts from legal documents, scientific and philosophical treatises, homilies, sermons, and religious treatises; the informal end of the spectrum consists of extracts from fictional prose and drama, travelogue, and private correspondence. Records of trial proceedings, extracts of which are also included in the Helsinki Corpus, are a particularly important source from the point of view of the spoken language in each period. (For detailed description, see Kytö 1991.)

Like any other database, the Helsinki Corpus has its own limitations. It is confined to the educated varieties, and its coverage of regional varieties is also restricted. As was noted in section 3.1, nonstandard and regional dialects of EModE were most probably strongly represented in the speech of the

seventeenth-century planters in Ireland. Another obvious problem is the poor comparability between the written and spoken modes. However, as mentioned above, the Helsinki Corpus does contain text-types which are not far from the spoken mode, e.g. records of trials, dramatic texts, and private correspondence. Furthermore, the Corpus allows systematic study of the status of a given feature in the grammatical system of the language at any given period. It also makes it possible to trace the long-term development or the 'diachronic profile' of a feature, which can here yield important information about the availability of a superstratal model to the Irish learners of English.

The examples cited from the Helsinki Corpus are all drawn from the WordCruncher version of the Corpus. As this involves the use of various coding symbols, e.g. for the 'runic' characters 'ash', 'eth', 'yogh', 'thorn' etc., I have considered it better to replace them with the characters given by the editors in the coding-key of the Corpus manual (see Kytö 1991 for details). As for the codes used to identify the type of text, its author, date etc., which are given in brackets after each example, I must refer the reader to the manual of the Corpus (Kytö 1991). To facilitate the reader's task, the basic facts about the origin and date of the cited examples will, however, be explained in a non-coded form in the immediately preceding (or following) text.

4.3.2 British English dialect corpora

Besides the earlier stages of EngE, present-day regional dialects of British English (BrE) constitute a valid point of comparison for HE. As will be seen from the discussion in the following chapters, many of the nonstandard features of HE are also attested in some form or another in various traditional regional varieties of BrE. In the absence of large, comprehensive corpora, I have had to be content with smaller databases representing only selected dialect areas. One part of my BrE dialect corpora is drawn from the Dialectal Part of the above-mentioned Helsinki Corpus. These texts consist of transcripts of recordings made by the late Ossi Ihalainen in East Somerset in the 1970s.[13] The length of these samples is about 9,000 words, and they include 6 speakers from various rural localities of East Somerset. To complement the material from the south-western BrE dialects, another database was formed by scanning all the recorded interviews contained in Martyn F.Wakelin's (1986) book *The Southwest of England*.[14] The book includes 27 extracts from tape-recorded interviews with the same number of traditional dialect speakers from the following areas: Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire, Bristol and Avon, and West Hampshire. The total length of the samples is about 13,000 words. Added to Ihalainen's Somerset recordings, the material from the southwestern dialects of BrE amounts to a total of some 22,000 words. This is only about half of the size of any of the HE corpora from Dublin, Wicklow, or Kerry, but should suffice to give us some idea of the status and uses of the features at issue in the southwestern BrE dialects. In the following chapters, I will use 'southwestern BrE' as a

cover term for data drawn from both of the mentioned corpora. The origin (place of recording) of material cited from these corpora will be indicated in brackets after each example.

The northern BrE dialects are here represented in corpus form by a collection of 14 texts recorded from Yorkshire dialects. They originate in the Survey of English Dialects (SED) and form part of the so-called Incidental Material, which consists of stretches of 'free conversation' with the informants. These texts were selected, transcribed, and analysed by Professor Gunnel Melchers for her study of the dialect of the West Riding (see Melchers 1972).[15] The length of the Yorkshire recordings is approximately 1 hour and 40 minutes, and they consist of 14 recordings made in 12 localities with 13 dialect speakers. The dates of recording range between 1952 and 1964. The interviewers were Stanley Ellis (11 recordings) and Peter Wright (3 recordings). The total of this corpus runs to slightly over 13,000 words (for further details of the Yorkshire texts, see Melchers 1972:18–36). As with the southwestern dialect material, the provenance of the examples cited from the Yorkshire corpus will be indicated in brackets after each example.

In order to gain a more representative picture of the grammar of BrE dialects in those areas which for historical reasons are the most relevant to HE, I have also gathered a database covering the Incidental Material section of all SED recordings made in the following West Midlands areas: Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Cheshire. There were 10 speakers (but 9 recordings) from 8 localities in Shropshire, 9 speakers from 9 localities in Staffordshire, and 4 speakers from 4 localities in Cheshire. In addition to these, I worked through similar recordings made with 12 speakers from 9 localities in the northern dialect area of south Lancashire. All of these SED recordings were made between 1952 and 1959 with informants who were born in the period from the 1870s to the 1890s. The interviewer in most of these recordings was Stanley Ellis. This part of my research was carried out in August, 1996, in the SED Text Archive, which is in the keeping of the Department of English of the University of Leeds.[16] Since none of this material had been transcribed, I had to listen through all the tapes, the combined length of which was about 4 hours and 45 minutes. Needless to say, using the auditive method alone is more prone to errors of interpretation than working from both tapes and transcripts, and it is quite possible that some relevant features were missed. However, I was able to build a database which provides some interesting points of comparison between these dialects and HE (see, e.g. the discussion on topicalisation in section 11.3). In the chapters below, I will use the general term 'West Midlands dialects' for the data and examples drawn from all the others except Lancashire dialect, which is one of the 'northern' dialects; the more exact place of recording will again be indicated in brackets after each example.

Besides the above-mentioned corpora and databases, the Dialectal Part of the Helsinki Corpus was used for some concordances covering a wide range of BrE dialects. These were run for me by Ossi Ihalainen (see, e.g. the discussion on subordinating uses of *and* in section 8.3).

4.3.3 Data from the other 'Celtic Englishes'

The relevance of the 'Celtic English' dimension and some of the problems associated with this concept have already been briefly discussed in section 3.2.3. Among these varieties, Hebridean English stands out as a particularly useful point of comparison but, as will be seen from the discussion in the following chapters, some varieties of Welsh English also exhibit features closely akin to those found in HE. I will begin with a brief description of the language-contact setting in the Hebrides and then present the details of my HebE data.

The basic nature of the historical contact situation in Ireland and the Hebrides is very much the same: in both situations we are dealing with second-language acquisition and an interface between English (with its different diachronic and regional varieties, though) and one of the Celtic languages, which in this case are linguistically very close to each other. However, there are certain differences in the external circumstances under which English was brought to Ireland and the Hebrides. The first of these concerns the dating of Anglicisation. In Ireland, the process of large-scale Anglicisation got under way much earlier than in the Hebrides: as was explained in Chapter 2, the 'second wave' in this process started as early as the end of the sixteenth century, gathered momentum towards the end of the eighteenth century, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of the population had already shifted to English. In contrast, the large-scale introduction of English into the Hebrides is a fairly recent phenomenon. Shuken (1984:152) writes that, despite some early legislative measures taken by the Scottish Government to replace Gaelic with English, Gaelic was able to hold out even as the language of education well into the nineteenth century. In the Inner Hebrides, which are closest to the mainland, English did not achieve the position of a dominant language until the nineteenth century, whereas in the Outer Hebrides Scottish Gaelic still retains fairly strong positions alongside English especially in the rural communities. According to Sabban (1982:258), it was the Education Act of 1872 that was instrumental in bringing people into general contact with English, and even then they were mainly exposed to the more or less standard variety taught in schools (for details of, and statistics on, the past and present linguistic situation, see McKinnon 1977; Shuken 1984). All in all, the relative position of Gaelic in the Hebridean setting during the last two centuries must be considered to have been much stronger than that of Irish in Ireland.

A second major differentiating factor between the Irish and the Hebridean situations is the mode of transmission of English. As noted above, in the initial stages of language contact in Ireland transmission of English was primarily naturalistic, whereas in the Hebrides schools have played a much more prominent role in the spreading of English. Besides the Education Act mentioned above, the quality of the teachers had a major influence on the type of English to which the Gaelic speakers were exposed: the teachers were likely to have been speakers of Scottish Standard English or Highlanders and Islanders who had

been educated in the Lowlands by various religious societies (Clement 1980:14; Shuken 1984:153). This has some bearing on the issue of substratum transfer, as it helps to at least reduce the likelihood of influence from earlier stages of English and diffusion from especially the southern dialects of English, both of which have been argued to have provided a significant input to HE. Matters are, however, somewhat complicated by the possible linguistic effects of the seasonal migration of labour to the mainland and contacts with similar seasonal labour coming from Ireland, and especially Ulster (see Odlin 1997a for further discussion). Shuken (1984:153) points out another factor which may have influenced the English of the Hebrides, namely contact with Scottish and English fishermen provided by the fishing industry. Yet she considers the influence of vernacular Scots on HebE syntax and lexicon to have been relatively small (Shuken 1984:153, 155). There may have been more of Scots influence on the grammar of Highland English (as opposed to the 'Island English' of the Hebrides), as Shuken notes, but this awaits further study (Shuken 1984:155). In a recent article on the interface between Gaelic and Scots, Colm Ó Baoill also suggests that at least in the eastern parts of the Highlands the type of English which came into contact with Gaelic was more Scottish (Scots) than standard (C.Ó Baoill 1997:567).

My HebE database consists of excerpts from the transcripts of recordings made in Tiree by Eric Cregeen in the late 1960s and early 1970s and now held in the text archives of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. The general nature of these recordings is very similar to that of my HE corpus: they are informal interviews with two elderly male speakers, covering a wide range of topics of mainly local interest. Both men were born and reared in Tiree, which is one of the smaller islands belonging to the Inner Hebrides. The elder one (D.S.), born in 1885, had worked as a shoemaker and before that in various other jobs, including herding, farming, and road- and pier-building; he had also served in the Royal Navy in the First World War. The younger informant (H.K.) was born in 1900 and had made his living as a 'crofter', i.e. a small farmer. The estimated amount of the speech material from which data were drawn is well over 40,000 words, which is approximately the same amount as in each of the HE subcorpora (with the exception of the somewhat smaller Clare corpus).[17]

Welsh English (WE) presents a much more complicated point of comparison than HebE. This is due to the historical and other differences in the language-contact settings. Encroachment of English upon the originally Welsh-speaking areas took place a lot earlier than in the Hebrides, and in certain parts of Wales this process was more gradual than in Ireland. There are areas in especially the western and northwestern parts of Wales where Welsh maintains a vigorous presence and is the daily means of communication for a large number of people. Because of the differences in the dating of Anglicisation in different parts of Wales, WE is not a homogeneous dialect, or even a group of dialects. Early Anglicisation of the southeastern areas and influence from the adjoining English dialects, reinforced by the nineteenth-century migrations into the southeastern

industrial areas from outside Wales, have led to the emergence there of a variety or varieties of English which distinguish themselves from the western and northwestern dialects. The latter varieties have evolved considerably later and show more traces of structural transfer from present-day Welsh, which continues to be a living language there. In the other areas, the influence from Welsh is less noticeable, and it is of an earlier, substratal, type. (For further discussion, see, e.g. Thomas 1994.)

No corpora from WE, comparable to those representing HE or HebE, have been available to me. Instead, I have used the data obtainable from the so-called Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects (SAWD; see Parry 1977, 1979) and from Penhallurick's (1991, 1996) studies of the northern dialects of WE. General descriptions of WE such as Thomas (1994, 1997) have also provided important sources of evidence. In order to fill some of the gaps in the existing literature, I have furthermore relied on the expert knowledge of specialists and native-speaker informants.[18]

Finally, Manx English (MxE) and some varieties of English spoken in Newfoundland constitute yet other relevant points of comparison with HE. Broderick (1997:123) writes that MxE exhibits 'varying degrees of phonological, syntactic and lexical influences from Manx Gaelic' and has also 'strong affinities with Hiberno-English'. Another feature shared by the Irish and Manx settings is the dating of language shift, which in Man, too, took place during the nineteenth century (Broderick 1997:123). Unfortunately, very little work has so far been done on this variety in general, not to mention its grammar, and this reflects in the amount and quality of data available. The brief descriptions contained in Barry (1984) and Broderick (1997) are virtually the only sources that can be used for comparisons. Nor has the grammar of the English dialects of Newfoundland been studied in any great detail, but a certain amount of grammatical information can be culled from recent general descriptions such as Clarke (1997) and Shorrocks (1997). Both note the mixed nature of the linguistic history of Newfoundland and the influence on Newfoundland English of two main streams of settlement starting in the seventeenth century and tailing off in the nineteenth: one from (south)western England and the other from (south)eastern Ireland, the latter including also some monolingual Irish-speakers (Clarke 1997:208–10; Shorrocks 1997:328). Because of the relative isolation of many communities, a great number of the linguistic characteristics of the source dialects has been preserved; the Irish and Hiberno-English influence is most in evidence on the southern Avalon peninsula, which was settled mainly by the Irish (Clarke 1997:210). The term used by Clarke for the most Celtic-influenced variety is Newfoundland Vernacular Irish English (NVIE). Besides this she distinguishes another, more 'fused' or 'focused' variety, which can be called Newfoundland Vernacular English (NVE) (ibid.). The latter, too, shows some grammatical features which can be attributed to influence from Hiberno-English and Irish (see, e.g. the discussion of the so-called *after* perfect in section 6.2.2 below).

4.4 Methods

4.4.1 Theoretical framework

This study is, first, comparative in the sense that it aims to capture patterns of differentiation between HE dialects, on the one hand, and between HE and other varieties, on the other. Second, it is both synchronic and diachronic: it sets out to describe some of the most distinctive features of HE grammar and explain them on the basis of their historical, contact-linguistic or other background. With few exceptions, no attempt will be made to measure the 'statistical significance' of the results, although quantitative data are used and discussed throughout the following chapters. The current trend in corpus linguistics appears to be towards corpora consisting of not only tens or hundreds of thousands but millions of words, and from that perspective the corpora I have been able to amass would not readily lend themselves to statistical analysis. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the main objective should be 'linguistically significant' generalisations, which can only be achieved through a combination of qualitative and quantitative evidence. The surveys of the frequencies of use conducted in the following chapters suffice to offer an insight into the relative status of each of the features in the system of grammar as well as into the most probable directions of dialect convergence or divergence.

In the most general terms, the theoretical framework of this study can be described as 'non-generative' and 'surface-oriented'. More specifically, my approach could be characterised as functional or pragmatic in that special attention is paid to the context of the utterance as a decisive factor determining the meaning of an utterance or a construction. Thus, all examples will be cited in their proper contexts, which helps to establish the relevant characteristics of the construction at issue. This I would regard as a major advantage of corpus-based studies over other methods such as 'participant-observation' or 'native-speaker intuition': in doubtful cases, it is always possible to go back to the whole context of the utterance containing the feature in question. Despite the general functional orientation of this study, I have not considered it necessary to align myself with any particular school of thought, be it functional, pragmatic, or discourse-analytic. Even at the risk of being accused of eclecticism, I have taken the liberty of making reference to, and also picking up, ideas and concepts expounded within diverse trends of linguistics, including also the generative framework (see, e.g. the discussion of 'unbound' reflexive pronouns in section 5.3 and of 'resumptive pronouns' in section 8.2). General theories of language contact, language acquisition and learning, language typology, and areal linguistics will also form an important background against which the case of HE will be assessed.

4.4.2 Grammatical features investigated

As stated in Chapter 1, this study focuses on those features of HE grammar which can be considered distinctive of, though not necessarily unique to, HE dialects and which have parallels in the Irish language. Most of the current debates have revolved around these, and they are therefore of the greatest linguistic interest. Admittedly, this easily leads to a rather one-sided view of the nature of HE grammar, because the main emphasis will be on features distinguishing HE dialects from other dialects rather than on those which are shared by them. On the other hand, most of the features investigated here possibly derive from especially earlier varieties of English, with some having parallels in other dialects of English, too. Multiple causation is thus one possible explanation for their use in HE.

Further selection of features has been done on the basis of their incidence in the HE corpus. This study centres on those features which turned out to be the most striking in terms of their frequencies of use. The limitations of the corpus may of course lead to a certain bias, as it is quite possible that some features are not so likely to occur in this type of corpus. Prominence in the literature on HE has been used as one way of compensating for the scarcity of tokens in the HE corpus. The 'failure of negative attraction', discussed in section 7.4, is a good example of this type. Yet another criterion has been the significance of a feature from the point of view of the whole system or subsystem of the grammar. For example, some types of perfects, rare though they are, are best treated together with the other types of perfects forming part of the same subsystem. This kind of 'holistic' approach has been advocated in contact linguistics by, e.g. Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

Features which will not be discussed include some which did not occur in the HE corpus at all and are also rare or obsolete on the basis of other evidence from actual speech. An example is the so-called *let*-imperative (see Bliss 1972 for discussion). Some others were excluded from the present study because of the lack of an Irish parallel, or because they belong to features common in other dialectal or nonstandard varieties: examples of these are the so-called 'negative concord' (or 'multiple negation'), the use of *like* as a 'discourse marker' or 'pragmatic particle', and the pattern *for to* + infinitive (note, however, that certain aspects of its use may derive from Irish; see, e.g. Corrigan 1997b). Finally, the lack of space has prevented me from treating, e.g. uses of the auxiliaries like *shall* and *will,* which display certain features characteristic of, if not unique to, HE.

5

THE NOUN PHRASE

5.1 Introduction

As compared with the verb phrase, HE noun phrases do not display particularly salient departures from their counterparts in other dialects of English. Indeed, some of the most often mentioned features are attested in other nonstandard varieties, too. These include, first, the use of *them* as a determiner or 'demonstrative adjective', as in (1) from my HE corpus, or on its own as subject, as in (2) (cf. Harris 1993:145; Cheshire *et al.* 1989:195–6). Another generally occurring feature is the use of the singular form with plural quantity nouns, as in (3) from the HE corpus (cf. Harris 1993:146; Edwards and Weltens 1985:114; Cheshire *et al.* 1989:197–8). The distinction between singular *you* and plural *yous* (sometimes spelt *youse* or *yez/yiz*) is yet another characteristic of some varieties of HE (Hayden and Hartog 1909:781; Harris 1993:146) which is also found in other varieties like Tyneside English, Scots, and Liverpool dialect (Beal 1993:205–6).

(1) […] that time the people were rich that used to live in *them* houses. (Dublin: J.O'B.)

(2) But *them* were the old letters. (Kerry: M.C.)

(3) Now a hundred *mile* was as much as I, or little better maybe, as much as I ever went round from where I'm now. (Wicklow: J.F.)

Two features have been selected for closer examination in this chapter: nonstandard usages of the definite article and 'absolute' —or 'unbound' as I prefer to call them—uses of the reflexive pronouns. Both stand out in the HE corpus as features which possibly reflect the corresponding systems of the Irish language. Furthermore, though frequently commented on in the literature on HE, neither of these, nor especially their historical backgrounds, have hitherto been systematically investigated.

5.2 Hiberno-English usages of the definite article

5.2.1 Description of the contexts of use

From very early on (see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988:82–3), writers on HE have noted the Irish predilection for using the definite article in contexts where it is not used in StE. This is also confirmed by more recent research (see, e.g. Henry 1957:117; Bliss 1984a:149; Harris 1993:144–5). Although peculiarities of article usage may not be among the most salient characteristics of HE speech today, partly because of the amount of variation in article usage in different varieties of English and in HE itself, my databases contain sufficient evidence to corroborate the observations mentioned. In the following, I will first illustrate the nonstandard usages of the definite article on the basis of the data obtainable from my HE corpus. This will be followed by a discussion on the origins of these uses. Note that I have limited the present study to the uses of the definite article only, as it is in this area that HE appears to distinguish itself most clearly from other dialects.

Nonstandard uses found in my corpus tended to cluster around certain categories or groups of words and expressions. These included the following; note that not all of these are restricted to HE dialects (see the discussion on the origins in section 5.2.2):

(a) plural count nouns with generic reference
(b) non-count abstract nouns and concrete mass nouns
(c) quantifying expressions involving *most, both, half* and *all*
(d) the numerals *one* and *two* used in the senses 'same' and 'both', respectively
(e) names of languages and branches of learning
(f) physical sensations or states
(g) names of diseases and ailments
(h) names of social and 'domestic' institutions
(i) names of geographical areas and localities, public institutions, buildings, monuments, and streets
(j) expressions involving reference to body parts or items of clothing
(k) terms for members of the family
(1) terms for parts of the day, week, or year
(m) names of festive days or seasons
(n) expressions involving the *-ing* form of verbs, used to refer to trades and professional or general activities
(o) names of persons when qualified by an adjective or a title
(p) reference to means of transport
(q) sentences containing nouns with a strong emotional colour.

(a) Plural count nouns with generic reference often occurred with the definite article instead of the zero article as in StE. I have included here the 'unmarked

plural noun' *people* (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985:303), which was by far the most frequent individual item in this category in all dialects, but other nouns also occurred especially in the two (south)western dialects:

(4) Err, d'you see, there was a, a hospital down here, a workhouse 'twas known as, and *the people* were dying there after the Famine, and err, the graveyard was was over in Kilcorcoran. And *the people* were very much afraid of the diseases that *the people* were dying of down here at = down the Mullagh road there, big old sto' =, two-storey house that's down there. (Clare: M.F.)[1]

(5) Do they keep *the goats*? (Kerry: D.B.)

(6) They had *the limpets* and *the periwinkles* an' = all that kind =. They survived. I suppose they didn't eat much. = But still, they eat enough to live anyway. (Kerry: M.C.)

(7) 'Tis known as St. Senan's Bed. But err, he didn't like *the women* then. He didn't like *the women,* in fact, he didn't like women, he didn't even ever allow a woman on Scattery Island, I think. (Clare: M.F.)

(b) Non-count abstract nouns and concrete mass nouns formed another frequently occurring category (for similar examples of abstract nouns, see Henry 1957:118; Harris 1993:144; Moylan 1996:342–3; Ó hÚrdail 1997: 194; for an example of a concrete mass noun used in the same fashion, see Moylan 1996:340). Examples are:

(8) [Do you have to train them especially for this purpose or?] Well, you do, ah, if it's in a dog he'll train himself, if *the goodness* is in 'im. Well, you know, = if it's not in, you want to train them. If *the readiness* is not there, isn't it like a, like a child? (Wicklow: C.C.)

(9) And = *the money* used to flow around Ringsend at that time. (Dublin: L.F.)

(10) And maybe = maybe = things didn' go so nice with them. I mean they = a lot = a few might not = turned to *the drink* = and {buggered?} themselves, = but good with that. (Kerry: M.C.)

(11) I don' know when *the coffee* came. I s'pose it did = came later. *The tea* = *the tea* = *the tea* weren't there at all. (Kerry: M.C.)

Under the same heading one could also mention the occasional use of the

definite article with names of animals when they are referred to generically in the mass:

(12) [Do they have it [a fish called conner] in the restaurants down here anywhere or?]

No, they wouldn't have *the conner*. They wouldn't have *the conner,* they'd = well, mackerel, if they'd have it, I s'pose. (Kerry: D.B.)

(c) Quantifying expressions involving *most, both, half,* and *all* were very often accompanied by the definite article (especially *most;* see also Henry 1957:118–19 for similar examples):

(13) *The most* of the farms were three cows and four. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(14) I had more brothers, two more brothers there with 'im at the time. And *the both* of them is dead. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(15) He has a room there, and be = I don't know what *the half* of it is, err, full of medals, and plaques, […] (Wicklow, J.F.)

(16) I haven't = I never had any trouble, but I hear people at it = that they 'd be around the house *all the night,* wakenin' 'em out of the bed. (Clare: M.R.)

(d) The numerals *one* and *two,* when used as predeterminers or on their own with the definite article, acquire the meanings 'same' (or 'one and the same') and 'both' (or 'these/those two'), respectively. The latter was particularly common in the HE corpus and was in fact clearly preferred to *both* in this function especially in the rural dialects (cf. Henry 1957:117; Moylan 1996: 344). Both uses are illustrated by the following examples from the Clare corpus, where they were well in evidence:

(17) But *the two parishes* were *the one,* one time. Mullagh and Milltown were *the one parish*. (Clare: M.F.)

(18) *The one fortune* might change six times in *the one year*. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(19) And didn't she get = didn't she get a murrain again? And he went to him again. He told him she was *the one heifer*. (Clare: M.R.)

'…it was the same heifer.'

(e) Names of languages and branches of learning formed yet another major group, although there was variation in the usage, as can be seen from the

examples in (20)–(2) (for documentation in other studies, see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988:83; Bliss 1984a:149):

(20) And err, when I do be listen' to *the Irish* here, I do be sorry now, when you're in a local having a drink, nobody seems to understand it. Whoever is speaking *the Irish,* might as well be, as the saying says, speaking *Dutch,* […] (Dublin: P.T.)

(21) And also = the Irish language as they had to, they had to drop *the Irish* and learn *English* in schools. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(22) But if you had = now = one of them, a teacher like that now of *the history,* that is, have *the history,* that'd be great = *for the likes of you. (Kerry: D.B.)

(f) Physical sensations or states (mainly unpleasant ones) could also be referred to by terms involving the definite article (some similar examples are cited by Joyce 1910/1988:83; Henry 1957:118; Harris 1993:144):

(23) And he said he wouldn't leave Alaska for any money. And he told us when he went out first, for the the first eighteen months he could hardly free the teeth = from each other with *the cold.* (Kerry: D.B.)

(24) […] the gamekeeper saw him huntin' an' he made after 'im. And they ran. And this blacksmith was runnin' too, and begor, *the breath* was gettin' short on him. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(25) The grandest looking girl that he ever saw. *The tiredness* left him, I tell you, when he saw her. (Clare: F.K.)[2]

(26) I think Jim Larkin, Big Jim, err, brought it here, called The Heir with food = […], for this, this is the poor people were starved with *the hunger.* (Dublin: W.H.)

(g) Closely related to the previous category are terms for various diseases or ailments. They displayed some variation, as can be seen from the first two examples below. The definite article seems, however, an option often used by speakers of HE (see also Hayden and Hartog 1909:940; Bliss 1984a:149; Harris 1993:144; Ó hÚrdail 1997:194):

(27) And that cured *the whooping cough.* […] Some children does be terrible bad with it, *whooping cough.* (Wicklow: T.F.)

(28) I used hear 'em—th'oul' people people—sayin' they could bring 'em through one ailment; that was *the Black Leg*. […] There was no cure for *Black Leg* in th'olden days anyway […] (Clare: M.R.)

(29) Well, now, I'll = I'll tell you this, the time *the polio* = came here into this country now, that's about ten, twenty year ago, […] (Kerry: D.B.)

(h) Names of social and 'domestic' institutions were another area in which usage varied between the standard zero and the definite article, but sometimes the latter was used (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985:277, who refer to these as 'institutions of human life and society'):

(30) Oh, we learned a little. Oh, a little, yeah. I only learned that, I left school early. […] I left *the school* in early age, nearly fourteen, you know. (Dublin: W.H.)

(31) They all, as I tell you, they have cars, and they go to *the work* in the morning, […] (Wicklow: M.K.)

(32) So anyway, he was only, he wasn't hot in *the bed,* he said, when he heard the police, the pol' = the hooves of the policemen's horses on the cobblestones outside the cottage. (Clare: M.F.)

(i) Names of geographical areas and localities, public institutions, buildings and monuments, and streets also displayed a lot of variation. The following illustrate some of the nonstandard uses of the definite article (cf. Bliss 1984a:149):

(33) But I'm sure now, if you went out to Glendalough, you would get people that'd give you a good deal of the lowdown of *the County Wicklow*. (Wicklow: M.K.)

(34) There are lot of the breed of Germans = along here. Well, they're even in *the Sneem* and them places now. (Kerry: D.B.)[3]

(35) Well, it's this side of Roundwood, *the Sally Gap*. (Wicklow: D.M.)

(36) Until such time as *the Belvedere College* moved in and got the lot of it, bought the lot of it, even the house in front. (Dublin: P.L.)

(37) We'd a habit of playing football outside *the George's Church,* it being a big crescent, you know? (Dublin: P.L.)

(j) Expressions involving reference to parts of the human body are normally preceded by possessive pronouns in StE, unless they are in the position of a

prepositional complement, in which case the definite article is preferred (see Quirk *et al.* 1985:270–2). In the HE corpus, the definite article was quite common with reference to body parts even if the noun in question was in object position, as in (38) and (39) (see also Harris 1993:145; Moylan 1996:353). Likewise, reference to items of clothing was constructed with the definite article, although variation occurred here, too, as can be seen in (40).

(38) Well, John Doolan cut a branch off it, and a crowd of birds come and they nearly took *the head* off him. They all collected round his head. (Wicklow: T.F.)

(39) And anyway, he, Shanahan said he used let back *the hind leg* and give the peelers a kick, young lads swallowing all this. (Clare: M.F.)

(40) The crowd shoved back anyway, when the hour came, when the time came for him to jump there anyway, and = he stripped out of *the shirt,* dressed up *his sleeves,* anyway, and […] (Clare: F.K.)

(k) Reference to members of the family or relatives usually involves the possessive pronoun in StE, whereas in HE (as in some other nonstandard varieties) the definite article is often used (cf. Bliss 1984a:149; Ó hÚrdail 1997:194):

(41) And I remember in twenty-two, the Civil War, it was in O'Connell Street, Civil War, fighting in O'Connell Street. [You were yourself?] No, oh no, I didn't get out to do anything. […] So now, see, *the mother* was all for the British, you know. And I was all for the volunteers at that time, you know. (Dublin: W.H.)

(42) Ah, that was a great holiday. When we went over, me and *the missus,* when we went in first […] (Dublin: M.L.)

(43) That's him if you wanted him now. *The son.* (Wicklow: J.F.)

(l) Various terms for the parts of the day, week, or of the year almost invariably occurred with the definite article, and especially if they were preceded by a numeral indicating frequency or distribution, as in (44).[4] Note that wherever StE allows a choice between zero and definite article (e.g. *at/by night* vs. *in the night; in summer* vs. *in the summer*), the latter was clearly preferred in the HE corpus (cf. Ó hÚrdail 1997:194 on the names of seasons):

(44) That time they used to be hunting here. *Twice the week,* every week, the whole winter. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(45) So he took to the fields again anyway, and err, then *the night time* fall on 'im. Strange man in a strange country. (Clare: M.F.)

(46) And-a = I, I think, they'd probably leave = they leave here, it was, well about twelve o'clock *in the night* that were. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(47) [Well, were there any special days of the week that were said to be lucky for getting married?] Well, *the Wednesday* was nearly a special day. (Wicklow: T.F.)

(48) [Does the grass grow in winter as well then?]

Ah no, won't grow *in the winter*. (Wicklow: J.N.)

(m) Names of festive days or seasons can sometimes take the definite article in HE, as is shown by the corpus example in (49). However, contrary to the findings of some other studies (see, e.g. Bliss 1984a:149), references to the most common feasts such as Christmas or Easter always occurred without the article in my corpus.[5]

(49) Yes. The wren, the wren, the King of all birds, Saint Stephen's day was caught in the bush. You see, they chased him up here *the Saint Stephen's Day,* the chap, boys. (Wicklow: T.F.)

(n) Expressions involving the *-ing* form of verbs, used to refer to trades, professional activities or activities in general, formed yet another area where the definite article was often used instead of the standard zero:

(50) But America = is a better country in that line of *the labouring*. B'cause you are, you are paid for rough sweat there. (Kerry: D.B.)

(51) And the door was barred out behind 'em—the five raiders—and *the tuggin'* started then, the police went to handcuff 'em. And *the tuggin'* and *wrastlin'* started and continued for the whole night. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(52) And there was a young fella that = his father an' mother was buried, he was right orphaned and he was a good hardy step of a boy, and he was hurlin'. But didn't this fella, anyway = he was from {1 word}, struck him down against the ground, you know, in *the hurlin'*. (Clare: M.R.)

We may also note here the occasional use of a pattern where the *-ing* form was followed by an *of*-genitive, as in (53) (cf. Harris 1993:148, who treats similar

examples under the heading of 'nominalization'; see also Moylan 1996:348–9, whose term for this kind of construction is 'gerundial formation'):

(53) [Who sponsored * these races then? Who were, who was this * manager?]

JF: Err, * there's, there was five or six of them at *the* = *doing* of it, don't you know, the bosses over it, and = big fellows as the saying is, they've plenty of money, and it was them run it. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(o) Names of persons when qualified by an adjective or a title were among the more marginal categories taking the definite article, but a few instances occurred:

(54) He wrote T-O-N-E across his forehead. And *the poor Tone* never knew a bit about it until after. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(55) There was a couple of houses there, Mr. Geoghegan, a stevedore lived and then after that, there was *the Mr. Oaks* lived in this house […] (Dublin: L.F.)

(56) So, I just to = to appease her, I = I went up in any case, and, of course I knew *the Sister Dominica* fairly well. (Dublin: L.F.)

(57) We had our minister Hillery over there in the army, had a visit there to Germany, *the President Hillery*. (Dublin: J.O'B.)

(p) Reference to means of transport formed another minor group. Standard usage favours the zero article (and the preposition *by*), whereas HE clearly prefers to construct these with the definite article (see also Hickey 1983a:43 for a similar observation and examples):

(58) They'll come out there on *the bus* to where I'm telling you, down the road. (Wicklow: M.K.)

(q) Sentences containing definite nouns with a strong 'emotional colour' mostly in subject complement position are illustrated in (59) and (60). Here the definite article serves the purpose of rhetorical effect. This type has also been documented in other studies: for instance, Bliss (1984a:149) states that the definite article is used in HE 'in ejaculations and in general in sentences with a strong emotional colour' (see also Joyce 1910/1988:83; Adams 1985:35; Harris 1993:145).

(59) And who was there, only the fellow. And I said to him then, I said

> to him, behind of that, I said, 'You are *the pig*!' says I. 'Outside with it!' 'You are *the pig*', says I. (Dublin: M.L.)

(60) And I had to bring it [turf] out there by lorry, by tractor […] Whatever was in it was *the good share of turf* an' all right. (Kerry: M.C.)

Finally, there were a good few instances where the definite article was used in some 'neutral' contexts involving nouns in either subject or object position. These are exemplified by (61) and (62). Note further that the relevant NPs in both examples represent 'new' (i.e. previously unmentioned or uninferrable) information from the addressee's point of view. Ó hÚrdail has made a similar observation. He writes that the definite article is sometimes used instead of the indefinite one "when special attention is being focused, as in the Irish language, e.g. in *then I heard the noise,* i.e. a distinct and notable noise…" (Ó hÚrdail 1997:194).

(61) Well, he composed *the Irish songs* himself; he was a teacher himself. (Kerry: D.B.)

(62) But there was a story told also, about that same place: that *the coffin* was being brought to Kilcorcoran for burial and that *the noise* = the = *the tipping sound* was heard inside in it. (Clare: M.F.)

These examples (just as many others cited above) raise difficult questions about speaker assumptions or 'presuppositions' which may have dictated the use of the definite article. Speaker assumptions are notoriously hard to capture in a *post hoc* type of analysis such as the one undertaken here, which means that there are always bound to remain a number of more or less unclear cases. However, the fact that most of the above categories have been amply documented in other studies gives important support to my findings. The data discussed above should therefore provide a sufficient basis for the discussion of the historical background of the observed HE usages of the definite article.

5.2.2 The origins of nonstandard usages

5.2.2.1 Previous studies

For the earliest writers like Joyce, the Irish substratum is the self-evident source for the peculiarities of HE article usage, as can be seen from the following statement:

> In Irish there is only one article, *an,* which is equivalent to the English definite article *the*. This article *(an)* is much more freely

> used in Irish than *the* is in English, a practice which we are inclined to imitate in our Anglo-Irish speech.
>
> (Joyce 1910/1988:82)

Later researchers seem more cautious about the question of Irish influence. Thus, Henry is content to note that '[d]efinite specification (i.e. with the def. art.) has been developed in the dialect [of North Roscommon—MF] at the expense of indefinite specification and specification null' (Henry 1957:117). Writing on the same feature in his subsequent work (Henry 1958:131, fn. 1), Henry adds a footnote stating that, although definite specification is a general Anglo-Irish tendency with nouns such as *the Christmas, the chapel (church), the measles, the cold,* it is also met in English dialectal usage. He does point out, however, that in the Irish context this tendency is more marked in the north and west than in the south and east (Henry 1958:131). Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on the possible implications of this distribution (cf. the discussion below).

Bliss and Harris, both of whom provide fairly comprehensive overall descriptions of present-day HE grammar, limit themselves to specifying the kinds of contexts in which HE uses the definite article instead of the StE indefinite or zero articles (Bliss 1984a:149; Harris 1993:144–5). However, commenting on the language of early HE texts, Bliss (1979) suggests the possibility of Irish influence upon HE article usage. He cites several instances of the definite article reflecting Irish usages from John Michelburne's *Ireland Preserved,* dating from 1705 (which, according to Bliss, is the only text in his collection to display these features): *you be de great Fool, to maake de piece of Money to buy de English Cloaths, day be de great Mans now, dou not maake de trouble, mauke de Rauvish upon de young Womans, Chests full of Plaat, Barrels of de Money, de Priest fill not be after give us de Absolution, You be de Fool* (Bliss 1979:310–11). To these could be added the expression *the half of it,* which occurs in Farquhar's *Twin Rivals* (Bliss 1979:141, l. 109). The discussion in the following section will show that most of these uses have, indeed, parallels in Irish.

As has become evident, the nonstandard uses of the definite article discussed in the other studies coincide for the most part with those found in my HE corpus. What emerge as new categories on the basis of my data are: (a) plural count nouns with generic reference; (h) names of social and 'domestic' institutions; (i) names of localities, public institutions, buildings, monuments, and streets (note, however, that county names are mentioned by Bliss (1984a); (l) terms for parts of the day, week, or year, including the distributive use of *the* (cf. however Ó hÚrdail 1997 on the names of seasons); (n) the *-ing* form of verbs denoting trades, professional or general activities; (o) names of persons when qualified by an adjective or a title. To these could be added the 'neutral' uses illustrated by the last two examples in (61) and (62); with the exception of Ó hÚrdail (1997), these have not to my knowledge been explicitly discussed in other studies. Interestingly, parallels for some of these new categories have

been dealt with by Sabban (1982) in her study of Hebridean English. The relevance of her findings to the case at issue will be discussed in section 5.2.2.4 below.

5.2.2.2 Irish parallels

Even a cursory look at the contexts in which Irish uses the definite article reveals a striking similarity with the observed HE usages. Among the environments requiring the definite article in Irish, *New Irish Grammar* by the Christian Brothers (1976:6–8) lists the following:

(a) phrases referring to rates, prices, etc. in a distributive sense, e.g. *uair sa bhliain* 'once a year' (cf. the HE example *twice the week* in (44) above);
(b) certain surnames used on their own without the Christian name, e.g. *an Dochartach* 'Mr. O'Doherty' (cf. the HE example in (55), which however has the title before the name; see the next item);
(c) titles, e.g. *an tSiúr Bríd* 'Sister Brigid' (cf. the HE examples in (55) and (56));
(d) place-names, including names of counties such as *contae na Gaillimhe* 'County Galway' (lit. 'county of-the Galway'; cf. the HE usage illustrated in (33) where the article is placed in front of the whole phrase);
(e) names of the seasons, e.g. *an Samhradh* 'summer' (cf. the HE example in (48));
(f) days of the week, e.g. *an Luan* 'Monday' (cf. the HE example in (47));
(g) names of certain months and feasts, e.g. *an Nollaig* 'Christmas' (as mentioned above, this particular word was always without the article in my corpus, but cf. the examples provided by Bliss 1984a:149 and Henry 1958:131);
(h) names of languages used 'in a wide or general sense', e.g. *Is í an Ghaeilge teanga ár sinsear* 'Irish is the language of our ancestors' (lit. 'Is the Irish language our ancestors"; cf. the HE examples in (20) and (21));[6]
(i) abstract nouns, again used in a wide or general sense, e.g. *Tá an radharc go holc aige* 'He has poor eyesight' (lit. 'Is the eyesight poor at-him'; cf. the HE examples in (8) and (9));
(j) names of certain illnesses, e.g. *an triuch* 'whooping cough' (cf. the HE counterpart in (27)).

To these could be added abstract nouns formed from the corresponding agent nouns by adding the suffix *-(e)acht,* e.g. *sclábhaí* 'labourer' —*sclábhaíocht* 'labouring', *feilméara* 'farmer' —*feilméaracht* 'farming' (Ó Siadhail 1980:195). These are determined by the article, except when they are used as verbal nouns, as in *ag feilméaracht* 'farming' (lit. 'at farming'; cf. Ó Siadhail 1980:195). Note that, apart from names of trades or professions, Irish also has a parallel for the other HE *-ing* forms denoting 'general activities'. Thus, the HE example in (51) above *(…the tuggin' and wrastlin' started…)* has a direct and idiomatic

counterpart in the Irish *thosaigh an tarraingt agus an brú* (Dónall Ó Baoill, personal communication).

Further additions to the list provided by the Christian Brothers include what O'Nolan (1934:95–7) has characterised as 'vivid use' of the article to express 'certain emotions such as surprise, joy, pathos, fright, etc.'. His examples include sentences such as *Cad do chífinn os mo chomair amach ach an gallán* 'There I saw in front of me—a pillar-stone!' (lit. 'What did I see in front of me but the pillar-stone'; O'Nolan 1934:97). Another context mentioned by O'Nolan is the so-called classification sentence where the subject complement is introduced by the definite article in Irish, whereas English uses here the indefinite article, e.g. *Is deas an buachaill tú* 'You're a nice boy!' (O'Nolan 1934:95). These usages may be compared with the HE examples in (59) and (60), and with the ones described as 'ejaculations' and 'emotionally coloured' sentences by Bliss (1984a:149), e.g. *That's the grand morning, thank God!* (see also Adams 1985: 35). Further illustration of the close correspondence between the Irish and the HE usages is provided by the discussion and examples given in *An t-Alt,* an Irish language study material produced at Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (The Irish Institute of Linguistics):[7]

(63) D'fhág sé *an scoil* in anois a trí déag.

'He left school at thirteen.'

(64) Tá *an t-airgead* an-úsáideach.

'Money is very useful.'

(65) Tá *an tae* tar éis an tsaoil go léir a lot.

'Tea has ruined the people.'

(66) Ghoill *an fuacht* agus *an t-ocras* orthu.

'The cold and hunger preyed on them.'

(67) Nuair thagadh *an óiche* lasadh sí an lampa.

'When night came she lit the lamp.'

(68) Chonaic sé *an bhean* ag gabháil aniar.

'He saw a woman moving towards him.'

On the basis of the foregoing there can be little doubt that most of the nonstandard uses of the definite article attested in HE have very close Irish parallels which could have served as models for the Irish learners of English in the days of intensive language contact and shift. The only notable differences

between Irish and HE comprise, first, terms for public institutions and buildings (such as *the Belvedere College* or *the George's Church* occurring in (36) and (37) above)), which do not take the article in Irish; second, names of festive days, as opposed to seasons (such as *the Saint Stephen's Day* in (49)), which are also without the article in Irish; third, nominalisations of the type *at the doing of it,* where Irish uses the so-called verbal noun with a possessive pronoun instead of the article (*ag a déanamh* 'at its doing'; in Modern Ir. *á dhéanamh*); fourth, names of persons when qualified by an adjective (here Irish prefers the demonstrative *seo* 'this', e.g. *Tone bocht seo* 'this/the poor Tone'). To these could be added the Irish equivalent of the HE *the half of...*, which involves the possessive pronoun instead of the article, e.g. *á leat* 'half of it' (lit. 'its half').[8] On the other hand, it should be noted that at least in present-day HE vernacular there appears to be a lot of both inter- and intra-individual variation in article usage which is evidently not determined by semantic factors such as those mentioned by the Christian Brothers for some uses of the Irish article. Witness, for example, the variation observed above in names of languages. This suggests that, even if there are grounds to argue that the HE usages of the definite article are based in all essential respects on the corresponding Irish systems, they may have departed from them in many fine details and in the course of time evolved their own characteristics, a development which is not at all unusual in language contact situations.

5.2.2.3 Regional differentiation between HE dialects

Besides the existence of Irish parallels, the substratum hypothesis is supported by the pattern of regional differentiation between the HE dialects studied. Table 5.1 provides the frequencies of all the nonstandard usages of the definite article described above. Although a quantitative survey of this kind can only give a very crude picture of the situation, it should be of some interest to see what are the rates of occurrence of the above-mentioned categories in each of the dialects investigated. In Table 5.1, as throughout this study, I have measured the rates of occurrence in terms of average frequencies per 10,000 words of text.

As Table 5.1 shows, the rates of occurrence are very similar in all the rural varieties, where the nonstandard usages are well in evidence. Their frequencies

Table 5.1 Nonstandard occurrences of the definite article in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	N	N/*10,000 words*
Clare (30,000)	116	38.7
Kerry (44,000)	155	35.2
Wicklow (42,000)	135	32.1
Dublin (42,000)	80	19.0
HE total (158,000)	486	30.8

are considerably lower in Dublin speech, but there too these features appear to be relatively common, as compared with some of the other ones to be discussed in later chapters. There was, of course, a certain amount of both inter- and intra-individual variation in the results, but since that did not affect the overall picture, there is no need to go into details here.

The difference between the rural and urban varieties could be explained in terms of the recentness of direct contact with Irish. That would imply, though, that Wicklow dialect has preserved contact features remarkably well, given that Irish ceased to be spoken in that area a couple of hundred years ago and that most of the informants from there had had the minimum or no exposure to Irish at school or elsewhere. In fact, the discussion below will show that the same trend emerges with respect to a few other features, some of which derive indisputably from the Irish substratum. This lends support to Adams's (1977) and Bliss's (1977a) views, discussed in Chapter 3, according to which the rural HE dialects are relatively uniform. I will return to the general implications of this in Chapter 11. In any case, the figures given in Table 5.1 indicate that we have here a dialect continuum similar to that established for a number of other features such as certain types of word order phenomena and perfects (see, e.g. Filppula 1986 and 1991a and the discussion in Chapters 6 and 10).[9]

5.2.2.4 Parallels in other varieties of English

The force of the substratum account is somewhat weakened by the fact that HE is not the only variety of English which uses the definite article in at least some of the contexts discussed above. Among the dialect areas where the definite article occurs instead of the StE possessive adjective, indefinite article, or zero determiner, Edwards and Weltens mention Ireland, Scotland, North England, South Wales and Southwest England. Their list of the typical contexts of use matches closely some of those attested for HE: before ailments; before trades, sciences and languages; before institutions (in Scotland and North England); and before parts of the body (in Ireland and North England) (Edwards and Weltens 1985:118). Unfortunately, Edwards and Weltens do not specify which of the first-mentioned series of contexts are shared by which dialects.[10]

Sabban (1982:380–418), writing on similar nonstandard usages of the definite article in Hebridean English, points out parallel phenomena in especially Scottish English and northern English dialects, as documented, e.g. in Wright's (1896–1905) *English Dialect Dictionary (EDD)* and in the Survey of English Dialects (SED) data. As regards names of institutions such as *school* or *church,* Sabban (1982:384–385) quotes the SED results from the northern dialects which reveal that the definite article was recorded in 52 per cent of the responses, whereas it was virtually non-existent in the other areas; in comparison, most of the examples cited in *EDD* came from Scottish sources, with occasional examples being drawn from northern English dialects. Use of the definite article before

names of illnesses is more widespread: it is again typical of Scottish English, but is also, as Sabban (1982:387–9) notes, a feature of 'Anglo-Irish' and Welsh English. She also refers to the SED findings according to which the definite article was in this environment returned in just over half of the responses from the northern and West Midlands areas, but only in about a quarter of the responses in the East Midlands and southern counties (Sabban 1982:388–9). As for names of languages, which constitute yet another area of usage shared by HebE and HE, Sabban is again able to point out parallels in Scottish English on the basis of *EDD,* which—significantly—does not provide any examples from the other dialects. The SED questionnaire, as Sabban (1982:395) mentions, does not contain any items on this point. It is worth noting, though, that *The Scottish National Dictionary (SND)* refers to the common use of the article in the phrase *the Gaelic,* which is attributed to the corresponding Gaelic form *a' Ghàidhlig* (*SND* s.v. *the* 5.(3)).

The remaining contexts explored by Sabban comprise the use of the definite article before the *-ing* forms of verbs denoting 'general activities' *(allgemeinen Tätigkeiten),* before concrete mass and collective nouns, abstract nouns, names of feasts, and names of seasons. As will be remembered, all of these occurred in the HE dialects investigated in this study. As regards general activities, nonstandard use of the definite article is according to Sabban restricted to HebE and Scottish English—note, however, that Sabban here overlooks HE. The corresponding SED item yielded no instances from the English dialects; *OED* describes this use as 'archaic' (*OED* s.v. *the* 5.; here quoted from Sabban 1982:401). The same geographical distribution emerges with concrete mass and collective nouns, for which Sabban has found no parallels in varieties spoken outside Scotland. Sabban does mention HE usage in this connection, although her source, Taniguchi (1972), restricts it to abstract nouns such as *hunger* (Sabban 1982:408). As my examples in (8)–(11) showed, HE can use the definite article before both concrete and abstract nouns. Names of feasts occur with the definite article in Scottish English as well as in HE, whereas on the basis of *EDD* their uses in other English dialects are very limited;[11] the SED contains no items on this point, as Sabban (1982:410 ff.) points out. Finally, relying on the SED data, Sabban notes that definite article before names of seasons is widespread among English dialects and thus does not distinguish HebE from other dialects (Sabban 1982:415).

One more area of shared usage between HE and HebE deserves to be mentioned, though it is not covered in Sabban's otherwise thorough discussion. It concerns the use of the definite article before the quantifier *most*. The database that I have collected from HebE (i.e. the Tiree material) contained a couple of instances which are similar to the ones found in the HE corpus, illustrated in (13) above:

(69) And they went to America, *the most* of them. (SA 1970/95/A, Tiree: D.S.)

(70) But *the most* of the crowd had no crofts at all. (SA 1969/157/B, Tiree: D.S.)

This environment has also been recorded in *SND* (s.v. *the* 8.), which cites several Scottish examples of *most, both,* and even *never*[12] determined by the definite article. Of these, the last two were not found in my HebE data (there were no instances of *never* with definite article in my HE corpus either).

As regards the role of the Celtic substratum in the Hebridean context, Sabban hesitates to draw any conclusions one way or the other. Having discussed the use of the definite article before names of languages and having noted the Gaelic and Scottish English parallels, she states that

> […] es is grundsätzlich nicht entscheidbar, ob das G[älische] mit seinem prinzipiell variablen oder das SchE mit seinem ähnlichen — seinerseits u. U. durch das G beeinflußten—Sprachgebrauch für die ke. [keltisch-englischen] Belege verantwortlich ist.
> (Sabban 1982:397)

This statement can be taken to reflect Sabban's general position on the origins of the other uses of the definite article as well. An exception is the *-ing* form of verbs denoting general activities (but not trades or professional activities): this use Sabban attributes to influence from Scottish English because of the absence of a Gaelic parallel (Sabban 1982:401).

Welsh English has already been touched on in connection with names of illnesses. The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects (SAWD) does, indeed, record names of ailments like *the headache, the toothache,* and *the mumps* in several localities (see Parry 1977:157; Parry 1979:142). As for the other contexts, the SAWD only mentions the occurrence of forms like *the both* and *the both of us* in a number of localities in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire (see Parry 1979: 142). However, Alan Thomas (personal communication) informs me that WE uses the definite article in several other contexts as well: these include the quantifying expressions *the most of* and *all the N* (though not *the half of,* as in HE); illnesses such as *the whooping cough* or *the polio;* social institutions, such as *the school/church/hospital;* unpleasant physical states, e.g. *the cold* (but not *the hunger/ tiredness,* as in the HE examples above); expressions denoting the body parts or members of the family;[13] and terms for seasons, e.g. *in the summer*. On the whole, WE appears to have been more selective in adopting features of article usage from the indigenous Celtic language than HE, HebE, or even ScE.[14]

As regards the geographical distribution of the nonstandard definite article in present-day conservative dialects, the SED materials and other corpora I have had available from BrE dialects point to a far more limited geographical spread of some of the nonstandard uses than what Sabban claims on the basis of the literature. The categories found in my databases included names of seasons, e.g. *the autumn* (Southwest, Yorkshire); members of the family, e.g.

the wife (Southwest); parts of the day, e.g. *in the night* (Southwest, Yorkshire), *all the day* (Yorkshire); numeral expressions in the distributive sense, e.g. *three and sixpence in the fortnight* (Yorkshire only); means of transport, e.g. *on the train* (Yorkshire only); geographical names, e.g. *the Khyber Pass* (Southwest), *the Brough Hill* (Yorkshire); and trades or general activities, e.g. *the millering* (Southwest), *the graving* {*of*} *the peat* (Yorkshire).

By comparison, the list of categories found in the HE corpus but not attested in my BrE databases is rather long, comprising, most notably, plural count nouns with generic reference, non-count abstract or concrete nouns, quantifying expressions involving *most,* etc., the numerals *one* and *two* in the special senses described above, names of languages and branches of learning, physical sensations or states, names of social and 'domestic' institutions, and personal names with a qualifying adjective or a title. The absence of these categories from the BrE databases may of course be explained by the relatively small size of the corpora but that can hardly account for all of the mentioned differences. It seems more likely that the uses discussed above are at best extremely rare in the English dialects, and that even those uses which have been attested in *EDD* are largely confined to the Scottish, and, to a much less extent, northern English varieties.

The special uses of the numerals *one* and *two* deserve some further comment at this juncture. Although *the two* in the sense 'both' or 'these/those two' is by no means confined to HE dialects, its use seems to be well-developed in them; in the HE corpus, it was particularly frequent in the (south)western dialects of Clare and Kerry (see also the discussion of earlier English below). The pattern *the one N* in the sense 'same' apparently represents a usage which is unique to HE. It is not recorded in *OED* nor in *EDD,* and there is no mention in *SND,* either. Henry (1957:117), in his discussion of 'dialectal usage of *one*' notes the same feature in Roscommon speech and compares it with Shakespearian *all one* 'all the same'. Moylan (1996:344) cites a similar example from the dialect of Kilkenny (*The two of 'em was on the one word* '…were of one mind'), but he suggests an Irish parallel for the phrase involving *the one* (Ir. *ar aon fhocal* 'in agreement'; Moylan 1996:344). An important difference between HE and Shakespeare's *all one* is that the latter does not involve the definite article, and should therefore be considered distinct from the HE pattern. This is also indirectly confirmed by the evidence from the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus, where none of the 92 occurrences of *the one/th'one* were used in the HE sense. What also points to the uniqueness of the HE usage is the total lack of occurrences in the corpora from the conservative BrE dialects (including the SED materials from the West Midland and northern dialects). Furthermore, the two patterns involving either *one* or *two* seem to have become recognised characteristics of HE speech, at least judging on the basis of Flann O'Brien's humorous comment on the latter in one of his famous Cruiskeen Lawn columns written for *The Irish Times,* his paradigmatic example being *The two (of them) is in the one grave.* O'Brien urges the reader to 'observe the unique Dublin dual number in full

flight' (O'Brien 1987:15). On the basis of my data, though, both forms were more common in the (south)western dialects than in Dublin speech, and it is the 'singular' *the one N* which must after all be considered more distinctive of HE than O'Brien's 'dual number'.

5.2.2.5 Earlier English parallels

The limited geographical spread of the nonstandard usages described above is, by and large, confirmed by the evidence available from earlier English, although the definite article had formerly certain uses which overlap with those found in HE dialects. Mustanoja's (1960) thorough discussion of the definite article in Middle English helps to ascertain that most of the categories listed as absent from my BrE databases in the previous section did not take the definite article at that stage. Thus, although plural nouns with generic reference often occurred with the article in OE, its use in late ME prose was according to Mustanoja 'comparatively rare, the situation approaching that seen in present-day English' (Mustanoja 1960:253). Non-count abstract and concrete nouns have, with some exceptions, been used without the article since the OE period (Mustanoja 1960:256–7). Jespersen's discussion of article usage in Part VII of his *Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles* (1974b) makes it clear that these two contexts did not take the definite article in later stages of English either. The article was similarly absent in ME from *most of* (in the sense 'the majority of', as in my HE examples above), which does not appear until the end of the ME period (Mustanoja 1960:258). Jespersen (1974b, § 14.8) notes that the pattern *the most of* is mainly found in the works of Scottish and American authors, but he also cites examples from others, including Shakespeare. However, he gives no examples of *the both of* and *the half of*. As will be remembered, both of these occurred in the HE corpus along with *the most of*.

Of the other categories distinguished above, Mustanoja does not discuss names of languages, branches of learning, physical sensations and states, and the names of social or domestic institutions, which can be taken to mean that the definite article did not occur with them in ME. It did sometimes appear with units of measurements in a distributive sense, as in our HE example *twice the week* cited above (Mustanoja 1960:255).[15] For later periods, the distributive use is confirmed by Jespersen (1974b, § 14.5). Jespersen (1974b, § 12.3) also notes the use of the definite article with expressions like *the day* 'today' in Scottish and Irish English (cf. Joyce 1910/1988:83–4). Similarly, he refers to the use of the definite article with branches of learning, arts and trades as an archaic or dialectal feature (1974b, § 14.4). Another archaism according to Jespersen is the definite article before some names of diseases, which in earlier English 'were regularly used with the definite article, some of them still being so in popular (rather low-class) language, e.g. the flu, the itch, the pip, etc.' (Jespersen 1974b, § 14.4). Like Mustanoja, Jespersen makes no mention of the use of the definite article with names of languages, physical sensations

and states, nor names of social or domestic institutions. This seems to confirm the geographical distribution discussed above.

In ME, there was some slight variation in usage with respect to names of the seasons and annual feasts, which did not as a rule take the article (Mustanoja 1960:250–1). As for the latter, Jespersen's findings on the later periods are essentially the same, but he finds 'much vacillation' in the names of the seasons in later English, the definite article being more common with *spring* than with the other seasons (1974b, § 15.3). With names of parts of the day ME usage varied a great deal, as Mustanoja (1960:250–1) notes, and the same holds true of the later stages in the light of Jespersen's examples (Jespersen 1974b, § 15.3). The unmarked plural form *people*, which was found to often occur with the definite article in HE, is interesting in that in ME it occurred with the definite article in the indefinite, generic, sense as early as the second half of the thirteenth century, and as Mustanoja puts it, '[t]he presence of the article [in ME—MF] seems to be […] more or less the rule' (Mustanoja 1960:256). Jespersen does not discuss this use, but a search through the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus yielded some occurrences of *the people* in the indefinite generic sense. Interestingly, though, none were found in the last subperiod (1640– 1710). This suggests that, if a superstratal model for this particular context of use was at all available for the Irish learners of English, it had become archaic by the mid-seventeenth century.

The Helsinki Corpus was similarly used to get a more precise picture of the other uses of the definite article in the EModE period. For practical reasons, my survey was here limited to selected texts from the last subperiod of the EModE part of the Corpus, which comprises the period 1640–1710.[16] The texts chosen for this inquiry represent text-types which can be considered to be closest to the spoken mode, namely records of trials, private and official correspondence, and dramatic texts. The results show that the definite article at that stage displays few differences as compared with present-day usage. Of the categories relevant to the case at hand, the Corpus data included several tokens of the distributive use of the definite article, some names of diseases such as *the small pox* (E3 XX CORP ANHATTON I, 212)[17] and *the Plague* (E3 XX CORP STRYPE 183) (both of which can take the article even in present-day language), the quantifier *all* followed by the article plus noun (e.g. *all the day,* E3 XX TRI LISLE IV, 122C2), the numeral *two* in the sense 'these two' or 'both' (e.g. *the two went in,* E3 TRI LISLE IV, 121C1), and a couple of references to body parts using the definite article instead of the possessive pronoun (e.g. *the Belly on't* 'its belly', E3 XX COME VANBR I, 63). To these could be added the fairly frequent use of the gerund with the *of* genitive (e.g. *I'll do your Honour's business in the catching up of a Garter,* E3 XX COME VANBR I, 64); note, however, that none of the gerunds denoted general activities or trades as in the HE examples quoted above. All in all, the range of those uses which are of greatest interest in this context was very limited. This is yet another piece of indirect evidence supporting the observation made above according to which the bulk

of the uses characteristic of HE dialects are restricted to northern areas, Scottish English and the 'Celtic Englishes'.

5.2.3 Conclusion

The HE usages of the definite article present at first sight a chequered collection of features, each of which seems to have its own source, independent from that of the others. However, I hope to have shown that there is a certain set of usages which distinguishes HE dialects from the other dialects, except HebE, ScE and —with some reservations—WE and northern English dialects. For this set of shared features we can try to find plausible origins in three principal directions, which are the Celtic substratum, (older) Scots and Scottish English (including possibly the northern English dialectal) parallels and, to a certain extent, earlier forms of English.

The striking degree of parallelism between the HE and HebE uses of the definite article, on the one hand, and between these two varieties and the corresponding uses in the Celtic substratum languages, on the other, must be considered an important factor supporting the substratum account. As will be seen from the discussion in the following chapters, the parallelism between HE and HebE extends to many other areas of grammar, which can scarcely be a coincidence but must rather have some connection with the highly similar substratum languages. In the Irish setting, the observed regional differentiation between the HE dialects investigated here provides further evidence of the role of the Irish substratum. It is another matter whether the substratum argument carries enough weight to rule out, or even reduce, the possibility of diffusion from other, especially Scottish and northern English dialects, for which very similar features have been indisputably attested. The contribution of earlier forms of English seems to remain marginal in this context, given that HE shares most of its distinctive features with the Scottish and northern varieties rather than with earlier English.

One could of course argue that the similarities in article usage between the Celtic substratum languages and the mentioned dialects of English are purely accidental, i.e. a result of independent growth. In that case, there would be no need to have recourse to the Celtic substratum influence in explaining the corresponding uses in HE, HebE, ScE, or WE. While there are bound to be areas of overlap in all languages which have articles, I do not consider this argument plausible because of the high degree of similarity between HE and HebE, on the one hand, and between these two and the Celtic languages involved, on the other. These are facts which seem impossible to dismiss as a coincidence, also bearing in mind the geographical closeness of, and the sociohistorical connections between, these linguistic areas. Besides, this account could not explain the more extensive use of the nonstandard definite article in the rural HE dialects as compared with the urban dialect of Dublin. Furthermore, the evidence I have been able to gather indicates that the nonstandard uses are

much more varied and more common in HebE than in the northern dialects of BrE investigated here, which also suggests a certain role for the Celtic substratum.

Another alternative would be to see the fairly unified geographical spread of the features at issue as a result of a development which stems from an earlier adstratal relationship between the Celtic languages and the Scottish and northern varieties of English. On this account, the emergence of similar uses of the definite article in the ensuing contact varieties would be perfectly predictable. In other words, what we have here could be described as some kind of a 'convergence area' or *Sprachbund*. The notion of a *Sprachbund,* as discussed in Chapter 3, involves mutually reinforcing adstratal contact influences from one variety upon (an)other(s) in conditions of widespread and prolonged bilingualism. These kinds of influences explain why languages or varieties sometimes display structural or other similarities which cannot be explained as deriving from any single source. This line of argument receives some support from the fact that nonstandard uses similar to those found in HE and ScE are recorded for the English dialects of Ulster (for documentation, see *CUD,* s.v. *the*), which may have been acting as a bridge between Scotland and the rest of Ireland in the spread of these features. This would also accord with Henry's (1958) observations on the more advanced development of definite specification in the north and west of Ireland than in the south and east. Furthermore, the discussion in the following chapters will show that there are a number of other grammatical features which are shared by the same varieties.

The convergence account can be questioned, first, on the grounds that adstratal influences normally occur in circumstances in which the participating languages or varieties are on a more or less equal social footing. As regards the Scottish setting, this has hardly been the case. For instance, Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997:256) emphasise that in the Scottish contact situation Gaelic was a language of low prestige, and this explains why there was little imitation among Scots speakers of the Gaelic-influenced usage of those Gaelic speakers who had shifted to Scots. On the other hand, Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997) list a range of phonological, grammatical, and lexical features of Scots which are evidently derived from Gaelic, and which indicate that the influences were not altogether unidirectional (see also C.Ó Baoill 1997). Second, the convergence theory encounters problems in trying to explain why the *Sprachbund* should be restricted to the uses of the definite article and perhaps a few other features to be discussed later, and furthermore, why it should comprise only the northern English and Scottish varieties besides Irish and Gaelic (without forgetting WE and Welsh, though, which share a subset of the features at issue). As will be shown below, HE shares a number of other features with, e.g. the southwestern dialects of English, and a host of others with other dialects throughout Britain. Third, the regional differences between HE dialects would also remain unexplained in this as well as in the first account relying on independent growth.

Besides the independent growth and adstratum hypotheses, the third possibility would be to look to early Celtic substratum influence upon the Scottish and northern dialects of English as the decisive factor explaining the similarities in article usage and possibly in some other areas of grammar, too. Indeed, this possibility is explicitly mentioned in *SND* with regard to two nonstandard uses, which are the term *the Gaelic* (according to *SND* after Gaelic *a'Ghàidhlig*) and 'expressions implying eulogy or admiration', as in *You are the droll woman, Bell* (*SND,* s.v. *the*). To these could be added the use of the definite article before certain place-names, discussed by Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997: 276), who consider it one of the generally small (as they claim) number of Scots features based on a Gaelic model.

Following the line of argument proposed in *SND* and by Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997) amounts to saying that the nonstandard uses in HE and HebE, too, could each derive from different sources: some from the Celtic substrata, others from Scots or other dialectal English sources. This kind of 'selective borrowing' is not impossible in language contact situations and could here account for part of the data: for example, the (variable) use of the definite article with names of seasons and parts of the day, and the distributive use are features which may well have been passed on from earlier and dialectal varieties of English. However, they are but a small subset of the nonstandard uses attested in these varieties, and therefore the 'selective-borrowing hypothesis' does not suffice to account for the whole range of nonstandard uses. In this particular case its plausibility is also weakened by the mentioned close parallelism between the Celtic substrata and the Irish and Hebridean dialects of English with respect to virtually the whole range of nonstandard features at issue. This, if anything, would seem to call for the type of 'holistic' approach advocated by Thomason and Kaufman, who state that 'we have found *no* cases of completely isolated structural interference in *just one* linguistic subsystem' (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:60). Applied to this case, it would mean that, even if one allows for the possibility of multiple causation, the Celtic substratum languages must have exercised a lot of influence—both direct and 'reinforcing' —upon the whole system of article usage of HE and also of HebE. Early Celtic influence on Scots in this respect is likewise a possibility which deserves to be explored in future research. I will return to the general problem of demonstrating substratal influences and distinguishing them from adstratal developments and dialect diffusion in section 11.3.

5.3 'Unbound' uses of reflexive pronouns

5.3.1 Distinguishing between 'bound' and 'unbound' uses of reflexives

In present-day StE, reflexive pronouns normally require the presence of another nominal element in the same clause or sentence with which they stand in a coreferential relation (see, e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985:356). In HE dialects, however,

reflexives can be used on their own, without reference to an antecedent in the same clause or sentence. They can occur, for example, in subject position, in object position, or as prepositional complement in adverbial prepositional phrases. These types are illustrated by examples (71)–(73), respectively, drawn from the HE corpus:

(71) And by God, he said, it would = he'd be the devil, if *himself*-wouldn' make him laugh. (Kerry: M.C.)

(72) And d'you hear me, you didn't know the minute they'd burn *yourself* an' the house. (Clare: J.N.)

(73) […] when Cromwell came over here […] he was s'posed to say, he'd drive the Irish to hell or Connacht […] The Irish used to say […] the Irish went to Connacht and left hell *for himself*. (Dublin: W.H.)

This feature of HE has been described in various terms in previous works. Hayden and Hartog (1909:941) speak of the 'absolute' use of the reflexive pronouns, a term which harks back to the Latin grammatical tradition. Henry (1957:120) is content to note that reflexives can be used on their own as subject or direct object but does not propose any particular term for these usages. In his subsequent work he, too, adopts the term 'absolute' uses of reflexives (see Henry 1958:92). Bliss merely observes that reflexives can in HE 'stand on their own either for the subject or for the object' (Bliss 1979:288). Harris (1993: 147), describing the same phenomenon, characterises the reference in these kinds of contexts as 'implicit' and as something which is based on 'the shared knowledge of the speaker and hearer'. In the most recent research, Ó hÚrdail (1997:194) comments on 'non-reflexive' uses of the reflexives in the southern dialects of HE.

Accurate though the descriptions and labels given in the mentioned works are, I have here chosen to adopt terminology which is widely used in Government and Binding (GB) theory. Within that framework, reflexive (and reciprocal) pronouns are always 'bound' in the sense that they do not have the property of referring on their own but require a link with some other NP, termed the 'antecedent' as in non-generative grammar, in order to receive a referential interpretation. The presence of an antecedent then establishes an 'anaphoric' relationship between the reflexive and its antecedent. By virtue of this property, reflexives are usually called 'anaphors' in GB theory, as distinct from personal pronouns or other types of 'referring expressions' which do not require an antecedent in order to pick out a referent. Besides being 'bound' in the described sense, reflexives must meet the additional criterion of 'local binding': briefly, this means that the antecedent must be somewhere close enough to the anaphor in order to be properly linked with it. In the most typical case, they are 'clause-mates', i.e., the antecedent is in the same clause and normally functions as the

subject of the clause. This is the usual situation, although it does not cover all possible uses of reflexives, and is therefore not expressed in these terms in GB theory. Compare, e.g. (74) and (75), taken in a simplified form from Haegeman (1991:195, 200, respectively). In (74), the reflexive and its antecedent are clause-mates but in (75) they are not, as is shown by the bracketing; yet (75) is also acceptable:

(74) Poirot invited himself.

(75) Poirot believes [himself to be the best].

Note, however, that in (75) the subject of the 'lower' clause *(himself)* is governed by the verb *believe* (which shows in the case-marking, for instance), and it it this relationship which makes it possible to use the reflexive in a position outside the clause in which its antecedent is located. From facts like this Haegeman (1991: 209) arrives at the formula given in (76), which expresses the general principle of the local interpretation of anaphors:

(76) An anaphor must be bound in the minimal domain containing it, its governors and an accessible subject.[18]

An 'accessible subject' is one which can be 'co-indexed' with the reflexive without violating any grammatical principles (Haegeman 1991:207). The formula in (76) can be abbreviated as follows (Haegeman 1991:211):

(77) An anaphor must be bound in its governing category.

Leaving the technicalities aside, the notion of 'governing category' refers here to the 'local binding domain' which in the case of (75) contains the anaphor (reflexive), its governor (here the verb *believe*), and an accessible subject (here *Poirot*). Thus, the whole sentence in (75) is the governing category, and the criterion of local binding is satisfied. The principle stated in (77) can now be used to explain the unacceptability of examples like (78) and (79), cited from Haegeman (1991:202):

(78) *Poirot believes [that [himself is the best]].

(79) *Poirot thinks [that [Miss Marple hurt himself]].

In neither of these is *himself* governed by the verbs *believe* or *think,* and therefore the subject of the main clause, *Poirot,* cannot function as the binder (antecedent) for the reflexive. Instead, the reflexives in both must be bound within the lower clause introduced by *that:* in (78) there is then no antecedent available, which leaves the reflexive 'unbound' and hence makes the sentence

ungrammatical; in (79) there is an accessible subject in the lower clause, namely *Miss Marple,* but it is not co-referential with the reflexive and they cannot therefore be co-indexed.

Equipped with this theoretical framework, we should be in a position to say what is peculiar about the HE reflexives illustrated in (71)–(73): they are not locally bound by an antecedent, and it is this property which distinguishes them from StE reflexives, which are always bound (with few exceptions; see below). Hence the term 'unbound' reflexives (UBRs for short) for the HE usage, instead of, for example, 'non-anaphoric' reflexives. The latter, though admittedly better in line with GB theory, might be confusing (at least to someone accustomed to the non-generative terminology), because reflexives used on their own can, and often do, refer back to somebody mentioned in the earlier discourse (though not 'locally' in the sense defined above). The following example from my HE corpus illustrates the unbound, yet anaphoric (in the traditional sense), use of reflexives:

(80) […] and he thought he'd have a few wrastles [i.e. wrestles] with the bull before he'd go to bed. He went in the field, and *himself* and the bull were tuggin' and wrastlin'. (Clare: C.O'B.)

It would of course be possible to simply consider unbound reflexives 'free' in the same sense as pronouns and referring expressions ('R-expressions') in GB theory (see, e.g. Haegeman 1991:215–6). This would, however, amount to saying that HE reflexives of the unbound type are not reflexives at all but free pronouns. In my view, this solution, though justified on the grounds of the surface properties of the present-day use, would exclude the kind of implicit reference suggested by Harris (1993). The term 'unbound' would seem a suitable compromise, which underlines the special nature of the HE usage. It is also more appropriate than 'non-reflexive', which is usually associated with the 'emphatic' use, as in *He himself did it* or *He did it himself* (Jespersen 1974b, § 4.9). In these, the pronoun stands in an appositional relationship to its antecedent (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985:356).

5.3.2 The contexts of use of UBRs

In some of the earliest studies such as Joyce (1910/1988:47), it has been suggested that UBRs are used when reference is made to the 'mistress' or 'master' of the house. Joyce's examples include expressions like *Is herself {i.e. the mistress} at home yet Jenny?* and *I'm afraid himself {the master of the house} will be very angry when he hears about the accident to the mare* (Joyce 1910/1988:47).[19] Likewise, Hayden and Hartog (1909:941) observe that '[r]ustics of all but the highest class, speaking of their spouses, and servants speaking of their master or mistress, often use "Himself" or "Herself" absolutely'. The same view is echoed in Quirk *et al.* (1985:360, fn. [d]), who cite *Is herself in?* ['Is the lady of the house in?'] as an

expression common in Irish English. However, the examples from the HE corpus cited in (71)–(73) above make it clear that the 'master/ mistress of the house' reading of UBRs is far too narrow. What is more, similar instances of UBRs found in early HE texts demonstrate that they have probably never been confined to that function in HE. Consider (81) from Bliss's (1979) collection and (82)–(83) from my collection of emigrant letters dating from the mid-nineteenth century; none of these are compatible with the 'master/ mistress of the house' interpretation:

(81) Be me fet, and be, I do hate de De-vil, as I do *Olivers* soujer, and if he come presently, my shelf will run away. (Richard Head, *Hic et Ubique,* 1663; here quoted from Bliss 1979:112)

(82) […] there is a friend of mine to be along with me that day a young Girl and she wants to know how much will you charge her from liverpool to newyork and *herself* to buy 1/2 provision […] (*The Grimshaw Papers,* No. 3, 1865; National Library of Ireland MS 15,784)

(83) […] I trust in you Hon..r that you will be so kind as to Admit my Sister to go on this Passage ticket as *my self* is not Able […] (*The Grimshaw Papers,* No. 5, 1864; National Library of Ireland MS 15,784)

What exactly distinguishes UBRs from 'free' personal pronouns in HE is hard to pin down. In many instances in my HE corpus, a UBR seems to be used with reference to that person or those persons who constitute the 'topic' of the conversation in some way or another, an interpretation which seems to suit the subject UBRs particularly well (witness examples (71) and (80) above), but does not necessarily hold for the other syntactic functions (see, e.g. *yourself* in (72) above). Another good example of the 'topic' reading is found in the following extract from a report on a court case, published in *The Irish Times* (8th February, 1997), which in itself goes to show that UBRs are not totally alien to 'educated' varieties of HE, either:[20]

(84) Mr K. asked Ms A. what attitude Ms B. had to her during the week in the court building. Ms A. said she saw her brushing past. Ms B. said hello or recognised her. She had been a friend but she (Ms A.) would question the word friend at this point. Ms B. had been with *herself* and M.M. on many occasions and had sometimes gone to concerts with M.M. and *herself* [my italics—M.F.].

The two instances of *herself* must, on the basis of the context, be understood as referring to Ms A., whose questioning in court by her own counsel (Mr K.) is the 'topic' of the whole report.

Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997:271), describing similar unbound uses of reflexives in Scots, attribute them to the corresponding Gaelic patterns, which according to them convey 'emphatic or polite force rather than reflexive force'. They also note the use of the third person *himsel* to refer to the 'man of the house'. It may well be that in HE, too, speakers consider it more polite to refer to a third party, who is usually not present, by means of a reflexive pronoun instead of the corresponding personal pronoun. This interpretation receives some support from exchanges like the following (found in the additional material obtained from the DIF archives), in which the informant addresses the interviewer by using *yourself* instead of *you:*

(85) [Could fairies get back to Heaven?] Well, I wouldn't know now. Could *yourself* imagine they would? (DIF text archives; Clare: M.R.)

Finally, we may note the use of *itself* in the sense 'even', which is yet another HE characteristic, discussed by, for example, Hayden and Hartog (1909:945), who trace it back to the Irish *féin* 'even' and 'self'. In my corpus, however, there was only one instance, recorded from the oldest Wicklow informant:

(86) I'm sure, it's about seventy-one years. Even if I'm wrong *itself* what matter. (Wicklow: T.F.)

5.3.3 The issue of the origins of UBRs

From the contact-linguistic point of view, UBRs belong to those cases in which it is hard to ascertain the origin of the HE usage because of parallels in both Irish and earlier English. Thus, Henry (1957:120) points out that the Irish system of pronouns allows the same type of usage involving the emphatic pronoun *féin*. However, he implicitly notes the possibility of superstratal influence from earlier English by citing examples from Shakespeare's works to show that reflexives could be used in earlier English in much the same way as in HE (Henry 1957:120–121; see also Hayden and Hartog 1909:941; Harris 1993:147).

It is now interesting to see whether the HE corpus can shed some light on the issue of the origins of UBRs. To begin with, Table 5.2 shows the regional distribution of different syntactic types of UBRs in the four HE dialects. A distinction is here made between UBRs which function alone as subject (labelled as Subj/0 in the Table) and those which form part of a conjoined subject phrase, as in (80) above. Among the latter, a further distinction is drawn between those which have a UBR as their first member (CS/1) and those where it follows another constituent (CS/2). Furthermore, UBRs can occur as object (Obj) or as part of a prepositional phrase, i.e. as 'prepositional complement' (PC) in the terminology of Quirk *et al.* (1985:60). The category

Table 5.2 The syntactic distribution of unbound reflexives in the HE corpus

Area	*Subj/0*	*CS/1*	*CS/2*	*Obj*	*PC*	*Other*	N	N/*10,000*
Clare	3	6	2	1	11	1	24	8.0
Kerry	3	4	–	–	2	–	9	2.0
Wicklow	–	–	1	–	4	1	6	1.4
Dublin	–	1	–	–	5	1	7	1.7
HE total	6	11	3	1	22	3	46	2.9

'other' includes three tokens, two of which involved the focusing subjunct *only,* as in (87); the third one can be considered one type of 'existential' sentence, given in (88):

(87) 'Twas in harvest time and the weather bad, and things going wrong and no helper, only *himself,* and there was no machinery that time there [...] (Clare: F.K.)

(88) I'll show you a photo here. Here's, here's *meself.* (Dublin: J.O'B.)

Table 5.2 shows that UBR subjects (of all three kinds) were more frequent in the two (south)western dialects of Clare and Kerry than in the eastern ones, where they hardly occurred at all. Among the former, UBRs were particularly favoured in the Clare material, which also made the most extensive use of prepositional complement UBRs. The results follow, by and large, the pattern observed for some other syntactic features of HE (see, e.g. Filppula 1991a) and indicate the existence of a dialect continuum from the (south)western dialects to the eastern ones. This is one piece of evidence suggesting influence from the Irish substratum, also strengthened by the fact that there were no tokens of UBRs in the corpora representing BrE dialects. Considering the HE corpus as a whole, object UBRs were rare; subjects of all sorts and prepositional complements were numerically evenly distributed. As mentioned, UBR subjects were very scarce in the Dublin and Wicklow corpora, as were UBRs in general. In fact, most of the UBRs functioning as prepositional complements in the Dublin corpus were of a type which could be judged to be possible even in (informal) standard English. Consider, for example, a construction like (89). Quirk *et al.* (1985:359) call this type 'semi-emphatic', noting that it 'is commonly used as a more emphatic equivalent of the 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns'.

(89) Now, there's at least four men up there in the same predicament as *meself,* heart trouble. (Dublin: M.L.)[21]

The corpus study revealed another interesting characteristic of UBRs: in the Wicklow and Dublin corpora, the UBRs were almost exclusively first- or

second-person pronouns, whereas third-person pronouns were just as often (and in the case of Clare, even more often) used in the corpora representing the two (south)western dialects. This is another piece of evidence which may be of some importance when we try to assess the possible role of the Irish substratum.

A further striking feature of the HE UBRs was the preferred order of constituents in conjoined subjects: the UBR came first in most cases, a trend which was borne out by the figures in Table 5.2 for the two (south)western varieties. This feature is also in evidence in the earlier written variety, as is shown by the following passage from one of the emigrant letters dating from the 1860s:

(90) Ihope [i.e. I hope] if you Place you wont Dispoint me without writing to me and for to let me know the Sirten [certain] day in July next that *meself and my Children* will get Bearth for to Emigrate to America […] (*The Grimshaw Papers,* No. 9, 1864; National Library of Ireland MS 15,784)

The same order is regularly preferred in Irish especially with the first person, as is shown by the following example given by Ó Siadhail (1980:41; cf. also Christian Brothers 1976:88; McCloskey and Hale 1984:503–4):[22]

(91) Tá mé féin agus Ruairí sásta.

'Ruairí and I are content.'

The reflexive-first trend of HE is confirmed by Odlin (1997b), who furthermore points out that the same order is characteristic of HebE. Odlin's conclusion is that this aspect of the use of UBRs in both varieties reflects the canonical parallel in the Celtic substratum languages. He notes the occasional use of the reflexive-first order in Shakespeare's works, but the fact that this is for Shakespeare a clear minority option with conjoined subjects, coupled with a few other features shared by reflexives in HE, HebE and the Celtic substratum languages, leads him to support the substratum account (Odlin 1997b:44–5).

Further evidence of the earlier English uses of unbound reflexives is offered by Visser (1963–1973:248), who first notes that *himself, herself, themselves* are used as subject in present-day English only when they are preceded by a noun or a pronoun (e.g. *he himself*) or when they are part of a 'group-subject' (e.g. *myself and my three sisters*). Visser's collection of examples from the earlier periods shows that, in addition to some OE and ME sources, unbound reflexives occur in the writings of various sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors, including Shakespeare; he also cites a few occurrences from eighteenth- and even nineteenth-century sources, including J.Richardson, Byron, and Tennyson (Visser 1963–73:248). However, Visser singles out Irish English as a dialect in which these forms 'are profusely used as subjects' (ibid.).

A more systematic picture of the earlier English uses can again be obtained on the basis of the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus, which covers the period 1500–1710 and consists of just over 550,000 words. To begin with, my investigation yielded 65 occurrences of unbound uses of reflexives. Of these, 21 were found in the last subperiod (1640–1710), which means an average frequency of 1.2 tokens per 10,000 words of text. As for conjoined subjects involving UBRs, there were only 2 tokens exhibiting reflexive-first order, as against 9 in which the UBR came second (or third). Another noteworthy observation was the predominance in EModE of first-person subject reflexives, which constituted about half of the instances. By comparison, there was a more even distribution in the HE corpus (as well as in the HebE database). What is more, conjoined subjects in the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus always involved the first-person reflexive. The (south)western dialects of HE, as was noted above, showed no such restrictions; consider, for instance, the Clare example cited in (80).

HebE reflexives, already touched on, provide an important point of comparison here: as can be seen from the following examples, their behaviour is very similar to that of their HE counterparts. Examples (92)–(95) are drawn from my HebE database, while (96) and (97) are cited by Sabban (1982:367):

(92) His brother was a shoe-maker. And *himself* and his brother was up in the Orkney Isles […] (SA 1970/96/A/Tiree: H.K.)

(93) But I have to go down to Island House where Willie MacDiarmid was and take *himself* and the ground officer out there and inspect the map of the ditch [dyke]. (SA 1970/96/B/Tiree: H.K.)

(94) And he wouldn't let anybody very young, boy or girl, if they were taking dinner, if they were around, they had to sit beside *himself* on the bench. (SA 1970/103/A/Tiree: H.K.)

(95) […] I used to say to him, 'You be careful about that money you've got, I'm sure it's *myself* that will get it after you.' (SA 1970/94/A/Tiree: D.S.)[23]

(96) Yourself and Annie could come and see me. (P&P, Skye; cited in Sabban 1982:367)

(97) But he didn't really see this and—himself and one of the boys got into a fight about it. (77.41; cited in Sabban 1982:367)

As regards the origin of unbound reflexives in HebE, Sabban (1982:378) concludes that their use is modelled on the Scots Gaelic parallel rather than that of earlier English. Besides the Gaelic parallel and the kinds of restrictions

on the earlier English constructions discussed above, she mentions that 'non-emphatic' uses of reflexives (i.e. UBRs) in subject position were recorded in Uist from very old speakers, whose English was not very good.[24] The Gaelic hypothesis receives further support from Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997:271), who ascribe similar Scots uses of UBRs to early influence from Gaelic, which is known to have made use of the emphasising forms with *féin* as early as the eighth century.

The substratum hypothesis is further corroborated by some qualitative features of HE UBRs. Thus, Odlin notes that reflexives can occur on their own in the focus position of clefts in the same way as their Irish counterparts. As an illustration, Odlin (1997b:39) cites example (98) from Henry (1957) and points out parallel constructions in HebE and Scottish Gaelic, given in (99) and (100); cf. also my HebE example in (95).

(98) 'Twas myself that remarked it. (Henry 1957:120; cited in Odlin 1997b:39)

(99) And it's himself that told me that up in a pub. (SA 1970/105B/ Tiree: H.K.; cited in Odlin 1997b:39)

(100) agus 's e fhéin a bh'ann. and is him self that was in-it 'It was himself that was there.' (SA 1970/109/A/Tiree: H.K.; cited in Odlin 1997b:39)

On the basis of the close parallelism between HE, HebE, and the Celtic substratum languages, Odlin (1997b) defends the case for substratum influence on both HE and HebE. He discusses the possible superstratal origins for the kind of cleft structures in (98)–(99) in Lowland Scots and Early Modern English and, more specifically, in Shakespeare's language, but concludes that substratum influence must be given priority for two reasons. First, his study of all of Shakespeare's works yielded only two instances of this structure.[25] Second, UBRs in both HebE and HE share some other qualitative features which evidently derive from the Celtic substrata, e.g. the order of conjoined subjects (see the discussion above).

Although the general thrust of Odlin's argumentation is convincing, I must note that, at least on the basis of my HE database, clefts involving UBRs are rare in HE speech. In fact, there were no tokens in the HE corpus, but the nineteenth-century letters contained a couple of instances, one of which is given in (101).

(101) Don't blame me for Robert's not going lastyear [i.e. last year] It was *himself* that would not go and the reason he gave was he would be indread [in dread] I'd have nothing after he going. (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 8, 1854; TCD MS 10,435/8)

Similar examples are not at all hard to find in early nineteenth-century writings by William Carleton, which lends further support to the substratum hypothesis.[26] Like Scottish Gaelic, Irish has a close parallel for the kind of cleft structures occurring in (98) and (101). Consider, for instance, the following simple illustration of the Irish usage provided by the Christian Brothers:

(102) É féin a rinne an obair.

'It was himself who did the work.' (Christian Brothers 1976:86)

The Irish pattern in (102) seems the most likely model especially for those HE uses in which the reflexive is on its own in subject position. *É féin* has the same structure as *himself,* which—like all reflexives—was earlier understood and also written as two words (cf. the extract from the emigrant letter quoted in (83) above).

5.3.4 Conclusion

The issue of the origins of HE UBRs is a particularly interesting one. On the one hand, there is some evidence of the use of UBRs in earlier English. Although the relative frequencies of UBRs in the Helsinki Corpus are clearly lower than those for especially the Clare and Kerry corpora, there is little doubt that reflexives could be left unbound in earlier English in ways which are not usable or acceptable in present-day standard English and which are akin to those attested in HE dialects.

On the other hand, HE UBRs exhibit features for which the EModE parallels do not provide a sufficient explanation. To begin with, it was found that there are differences between the (south)western and eastern HE dialects in the frequencies of use of UBRs, and these seem to be conditioned by the recentness of direct contact with the Irish language. Similar regional differentiation was observed with respect to the preferred order of constituents in conjoined subjects and the frequencies of different person categories occurring in UBR contexts. Both repeat the same west—east pattern which has emerged with respect to a number of other grammatical features. By comparison, UBRs did not occur at all in the BrE dialect corpora. The substratum case is also strengthened by evidence drawn from HebE, which displays strikingly similar uses of UBRs. Together, these facts suggest a very definite role for the Irish substratum.

It is another matter that the present evidence does not suffice to rule out the superstratal source, either. The safest conclusion is that HE UBRs reflect input from both earlier English and the Irish substratum. Though relatively infrequent, the UBRs of earlier English may have provided a basis for what have in contact linguistics come to be known as 'interlingual identifications' (see Weinreich 1953/1974:7–8), and thus made it possible for 'positive transfer' to take place in the emerging contact vernacular (cf. Odlin 1989:36, 113–14).

The parallel Irish usages, then, have left their imprint on certain aspects of UBRs such as the order of constituents in conjoined subjects, their usability with different person categories, their pragmatic and social conditions of use (e.g. with reference to the topic of the conversation or to the master/mistress of the house), and their general rates of occurrence. In contact-linguistic terms, one could speak of 'negative transfer' and 'overproduction' of a pattern (cf. Odlin 1989:36), which continue to influence HE usage even today.

6

THE VERB PHRASE

6.1 Introduction

Features discussed in this chapter include some of the most prominent features of the HE tense and aspect systems and what will here be called 'plural subject-verb concord'. As before, I have had to limit the discussion to those features which I have considered the most interesting from the contact-linguistic point of view. Therefore, and also because of space limitations, I will not be able to discuss various other aspects of VPs which are also known to be characteristic of the Irish dialects of English, e.g. certain uses of modal auxiliaries, special ways of expressing the imperative mood, or nonstandard verb forms (for discussion see, e.g. Harris 1993). Note also that (some aspects of) negation will be treated in the next chapter (section 7.4).

It is common knowledge that tense and aspect are among those areas of grammar in which HE dialects clearly distinguish themselves from other dialects of English. This is not surprising in view of the centrality of tense and aspect distinctions in any grammar, and considering also evidence from other contact varieties which underlines the importance of especially aspectual categorisation (for a general discussion, see, e.g. Holm 1988:148–68). In the research on HE, problems of tense and aspect have long occupied a special place, and this is also reflected in the substratum—superstratum—universals debate: HE perfects, in particular, belong to the most widely debated topics in the field.

My discussion will focus on HE perfects and on the use of so-called 'periphrastic *do*' and related constructions for marking habitual aspect. I have again had to exclude certain other typical features of the HE tense—aspect systems such as the use of the progressive form with certain types of stative verbs, such as *think, believe, want, know,* or *belong*. On the other hand, this feature was not so much in evidence in the HE corpus as one could have expected on the basis of the literature. The examples in (1) and (2) from the corpus should suffice to illustrate the usage (for further discussion see, e.g. Bliss 1984a:144; Harris 1993:164):

(1) There was a lot about fairies long ago […] but *I'm thinkin'* that most of 'em are vanished. (Clare: M.R.)

(2) There was a school in Ballynew, and they *were wantin'* to build a new school. (Clare: C.O'B.)

The third feature studied in this chapter, namely plural subject—verb concord, does not of course pertain to the verb phrase alone but since the verb is the element showing (or not showing) the concord relationship with all its possible variants, it is treated here.[1]

6.2 Hiberno-English perfects

In comparison with many other dialects of English, HE perfects present a rather curious mixture of simplification and complication. On the one hand, HE makes prominent use of the present and past tenses for perfect aspect meanings which are in other dialects expressed by distinct forms such as the *have*-periphrasis. On the other hand, HE has developed, or preserves from earlier English, separate forms for some temporal and aspectual meanings, forms which are either not found or no longer used in other varieties (at least not to the same extent). Consequently, the overall coding of tense—aspect distinctions in HE looks more complex than in StE, for example.

In previous works, the most thorough presentations of the HE perfects and past perfects (which are included in my discussion throughout) are provided by Henry (1957), Harris (1984a, 1993) and Kallen (1989, 1990, 1991, 1994). The terminology adopted in this study is a medley of old and new elements. I am aware that it is far from consistent, incorporating as it does terms which refer either to the semantics of the perfect or to its form. There is, however, a certain rationale behind my choice (see the discussion below), and in some cases one might even speak of established terminology. I will distinguish as many as six different categories of perfects which are relevant to the discussion of the HE system(s). They will be labelled as follows (the illustrative examples are drawn from the HE corpus):

(a) the 'indefinite anterior' perfect (IAP for short; e.g. *Were you ever in Kenmare?* 'Have you ever been…?');
(b) the *after* perfect (AFP; e.g. *You're after ruinin' me* 'you have just ruined me');
(c) the 'medial-object' perfect (MOP; e.g. *I have it forgot* 'I have forgotten it');
(d) the *be* perfect (BEP; e.g. *All the tourists are gone back now*);
(e) the 'extended-now' perfect (ENP; e.g. *I'm not in this {caravan} long* 'I haven't been…');
(f) the 'standard' *have* perfect (e.g. *And we haven't seen one for years round here*).[2]

Before looking at each of these in greater detail, it is necessary to insert a note on the criteria for 'perfects'. In the approach adopted here, the criteria are based on both forms and meanings, i.e. each of the mentioned categories has a characteristic structural realisation or realisations, and is associated with

a certain set of meanings which help to distinguish between formally similar but semantically different cases. Thus, although the indefinite anterior perfect, for example, assumes the form of the past tense (preterite), the kind of use illustrated under (a) is here considered to belong to the category of perfects on the basis of its meaning.

In general terms, I consider the perfect something which, to quote Comrie's (1976:62) words, 'links a present state to a past situation whether this past situation was an individual event, or a state, or a process not yet completed'. In accordance with Comrie, I also want to make a distinction between 'perfect' and 'perfective'; the latter is concerned with the 'internal temporal constitution of a situation' (Comrie 1976:52) and implies a contrast with 'imperfective', a sense which could be misleading here (for further discussion of the distinction, see Comrie 1976:61–4). In some accounts, the meaning of the perfect has been associated with 'current relevance' (see, e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985:190; cf. also Comrie 1976:52 for a similar formulation), which is just another way of describing the above-mentioned 'link' between the present and the past. It is this link which makes it possible to distinguish the perfect from the kind of past time reference conveyed, for instance, by the StE past tense in its 'paradigmatic' use, i.e. when it refers to something in the 'definite past'. An important difference between the perfect and the past tense is that the latter implies a 'gap' between a specific time in the past and the present, i.e. the moment of utterance (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985:183). Similarly, the HE 'extended-now' perfect, although it formally coincides with the present tense, which in StE normally refers to present time, differs from it in that the ENP refers to some state of affairs or process which has been initiated in the past but which continues up to the present moment (or moment of utterance). The presence of a certain type of time adverbial contributes, of course, to the perfect aspect reading (see the discussion below). Kallen (see, e.g. 1989, 1990) argues for a different approach: according to him, each of the constructions listed above can express a wide range of partially overlapping meanings; this leads him to emphasise formal properties as the most important criteria for categories of perfects.

The following sections are devoted to a detailed discussion of each of the HE perfects and to the problems associated with their origins. Though the relationship between the characteristically HE forms of perfects and the 'standard' *have* perfect will be touched on here and there along the way, I have considered it best to treat the latter in a separate section (6.2.6), which also summarises my findings on the patterns of variation between the standard and nonstandard usages.

6.2.1 The 'indefinite anterior' perfect (IAP)

The discussion above has made it clear that, like Harris (1984a), I am treating cases like (a) *(Were you ever in Kenmare?)* as belonging to the category of perfects (cf. Kallen 1989, for whom it is not a perfect at all). Following Harris (1984a:

308), we can say that the IAP refers to events or states of affairs, which take place 'at (an) unspecified point(s) in a period leading up to the present'. Brinton's (1988) survey of typologies of perfects lists some other terms which have been used in the literature for roughly similar meanings, and which are in StE conveyed by the *have* perfect: 'experiential perfect' (Comrie 1976:58–9), 'perfect of experience' (Zandvoort 1932), 'indefinite past' (Leech 1971:32–3), 'existential perfect' (McCawley 1971:104; all quoted here from Brinton 1988: 11). Brinton's paradigmatic examples include sentences like *I have been abroad several times* and *I have read that novel* (Brinton 1988:10).

I will next illustrate the category of IAP and its typical contexts of use on the basis of the data from my HE corpus. As will become evident from some of the examples, it is not always easy to decide whether the time reference is, indeed, intended to 'lead up to the present', and hence, to distinguish between the definite past (i.e. the time reference usually associated with the past tense) and the IAP. However, contextual information together with 'knowledge about the world' provides in most cases a reasonable cue as to the most likely interpretation. Thus, in (3) below the IAP reading can be inferred on the basis of the fact that the informant was living in the old family home at the moment of the interview:

(3) My father lived here and my f' = grandfather and his great-grandfather lived here before us. We *were* here = we *were* here ever, I think. (Kerry: J.F.)[3]

By contrast, the instance of a past tense verb in (4) is best treated as referring to the definite past, since the practice described here is now discontinued; therefore, (4) does not count as an IAP:

(4) […] we always *worked* in = in the shore, you know, burning kelp. (Clare: J.N.)

Note that the presence of a time adverbial does not necessarily imply one reading or the other, although it is true that the IAP tends to occur with certain types of adverbials. Thus, the following utterance, which contains the same universal time adverbial *always* as (4) above, has to be interpreted as referring to a time span reaching up to the present (i.e. the moment of utterance), and hence, as an instance of the IAP:

(5) [[…] but still = there's so many of them = at this moment. I think there's more than = a hundred thousand = unemployed. = It's = it's becoming a serious problem.] Yes, but they *were* there always, and ever, but ye *didn't take* any account of them until now. (Kerry: M.C.)

Sometimes, however, it is impossible to tell *ex post facto* whether reference is made to the definite past or to some activity or situation which is assumed to persist up to the moment of speaking. The exchange in (6) illustrates this difficulty: the general focus of the conversation here is on the activities 'in the old day', which would seem to favour the definite past reading for the utterance *'Twas always danced here*. However, the informant's reply does not exclude the possibility that what he says could hold true of the moment of speaking as well:

(6) [Did they ever dance the Plain Set in this = up in this portion of Clare?] They did. *'Twas* always *danced* here. And the Lancers, and the Orange and Green, and the Princess Royals, and the Mazurkas, The Walls of Limerick, The Bridge of Athlone. Them are all the = mostly all = I ever heard of. (Clare: C.O'B.)

I have relegated instances like these to the category of 'unclear cases' and ignored them in the statistical surveys to be discussed below.

The most common verbs used with the IAP were (in descending order of frequency) *hear, see, be, have, go, get, know,* (lexical verb) *do*[4], *come,* and *tell*—all verbs which correspond well to the 'experiential' meaning often attached to this type of perfect (see the discussion above). Some two-thirds of the instances involved an adverbial of time. The most frequently occurring adverbials were, as could be expected, *never* and *ever*. The former accounted for about half of those instances which contained an adverbial, while the share of the latter was some 30 per cent. The next most common adverbials were *always* (at some 7 per cent) and *often* (at some 5 per cent). The rest were rather evenly distributed between such adverbials as *since, until/till* (followed either by a head word or a clause). Among the rarer ones were *before, yet,* and miscellaneous adverb phrases such as *three times, in the last ten years,* and *in my life*.

Semantically, the adverbials used with the IAP most often denote the frequency with which the activity or state referred to is said to have taken place or the time zone within which it is located. The implication is that this activity or state either still persists (or never occurred within the time zone given, as in negative contexts), or that reference to it carries some other type of relevance at the moment of utterance. Thus the meaning of IAPs involving *never* could be paraphrased by something like 'for no point of time in the past, including also the present moment, does it hold that p'. Those containing *always* mean 'for every point of time in the past, including also the present moment, it holds that p'; *often* can be paraphrased by 'for many points of time in the past…', while *before* would mean 'for some point of time in the past…'. The following examples illustrate some of these types:

(7) I *never had* a motorcar. I *never saw* a motorcar when I was = I *didn' see* motorcar *till* I was thirty years. Twenty years anyway. (Kerry: M.C.)

(8) I *went often* looking at television in an = in another house, you know. Well, when I'd go down to Castlecove for a message there I'd see television. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(9) Yeah, you *heard* that [i.e. story] *before,* did you? (Clare: M.F.)

(10) [John, did you ever visit the = Aran Islands? They are not very far across * the bay there.] Yes, I was, I was * nine miles up there, up on the high sea. I *was* in the Aran Islands *three times,* I was. (Clare: J.N.)

Notice that in (7) we are in fact dealing with a past perfect reading, because the time adverbial *till I was thirty years* introduces a second point of time orientation, and the situation described in the preceding utterance is now assumed to have held true up to that point, but nevertheless carries some relevance at the moment of speaking. The StE for (7) would, of course, involve the past perfect form: *…I hadn't seen a motorcar till I was….*

It should be added that the time zone expressed by *never* and *ever* was sometimes further specified by *since* or *yet*. As examples (11) and (12) show, *since* helps to define the starting-point for the time zone within which the activity or state is said to have taken place (or not to have taken place at all, as is the case with *never*), while *yet* focuses the attention upon the end-point of that time zone (i.e. to the moment of utterance), and again, in the case of *never,* to the continuing absence of the activity or state by the moment of utterance:

(11) We had to read an' write it [i.e. Irish], and I have it = I have = almost forgotten now, becos' I = I *never read or wrote* it *since* I left school. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(12) Sure that would be a natural = to got altogether if = if you could employ every man the = and woman = that could work. That *never happened* in this world *yet*. (Kerry: M.C.)

As mentioned above, about two-thirds of the IAPs were accompanied by an adverbial. Those which were not occurred in contexts where the time zone was either given on the basis of the preceding discourse, as in (13), or it was implied in a more general fashion on the basis of the knowledge shared by the participants in the speech situation, as in (14) and (15):

(13) [Were you ever sorry now that you didn't pull out?] Not a bit in the world. = = I *was* happy = as O'Reilly. (Clare: M.V.)

(14) And then that = you know Loher Church, *were* you in Loher Church? (Kerry: J.F.)

(15) Well, that [i.e. the dole system] = *killed* Ireland. (Kerry: M.C.)

The IAP is extremely common in HE dialects, and it is used almost universally instead of the standard *have* perfect in cases where reference is made to activities, events, or states which have taken place in the 'indefinite past' but which lead up to the moment of speaking in some way or another (see also Ó hÚrdail 1997:193). This is revealed, for example, by the kinds of exchanges illustrated in (16) and (17): not even the interviewers' use of the standard *have* perfect was able to tease out the same structure in the informants' replies.

(16) [Have you heard that one about O'Brien up in Birchfield?] I *did;*
'That the crows'd be flyin' in an' out of the house'. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(17) [Yeah, I remember these words, because I've tried to learn it [Irish]
a bit, you know, myself.]
Did you? (Kerry: M.C.)

The preference for the IAP can also be vindicated by statistics. Table 6.1 gives the frequencies of IAPs versus standard *have* perfects used in the same indefinite anterior sense in the four HE dialects.

Table 6.1 shows that the IAP is used in all dialects in an overwhelming majority of the indefinite anterior contexts. This kind of comparison must, however, be treated with caution, as it is sometimes hard to judge whether the two constructions satisfy the criterion of semantic equivalence usually set for linguistic variables. The fact that the *have* perfect was occasionally used by speakers in contexts highly similar to those of the IAP suggests that there is a certain relationship of variation between these two. There were some interindividual differences here, but since they did not seem to form any clear-cut pattern (for instance, according to age), I will not comment on them any further. Occasional hesitation phenomena like the one in (18) below can be interpreted as symptoms of the ongoing 'competition between grammars' with respect to this distinction. I hasten to add, though, that the position of the IAP in HE grammar is very secure and, given that similar usage is spreading from the direction of AmE into BrE, too, will in all likelihood remain so.

Table 6.1 Frequencies of IAPs versus standard *have* perfects in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	*IAP*	Have *perfect*	*% IAP*
Clare (30,000)	121	8	93.8
Kerry (44,000)	86	18	82.7
Wicklow (42,000)	135	20	87.1
Dublin (42,000)	88	11	88.9
HE total (158,000)	430	57	88.3

(18) But the song says they got a week for every nail. *Have* you = *did* you ever hear the song? (Clare: C.O'B.)

The data in Table 6.1 also allow one to calculate the average frequencies of use of IAPs in the four dialects. These reveal noticeable differences between the subcorpora. In Clare, especially, the rates of occurrence, 40.3 tokens per 10,000 words of text, were very high as compared with Kerry, for example, which scored only 19.5 instances per 10,000 words. However, this difference can largely be put down to the form of questioning favoured by each field worker: the Clare corpus contained a much higher number of questions of the type *Did you ever…*?, which of course readily prompted responses using the same pattern. The IAP must therefore be considered a very 'topic-sensitive' feature, but interindividual differences also play a role here, as is shown by the difference between Kerry and Wicklow, where the corresponding figure was 32.1/10,000. Yet these corpora were collected for the most part by the same field worker. In any case, the average frequencies of IAPs are relatively high in all dialects and, indeed, place the IAP among the most common of all the 'distinctive' features of HE grammar.

The origins of the IAP are a vexed question because of the existence of both substratal and superstratal parallels. As for the latter, the use of the preterite form for indefinite anterior time reference was not uncommon in Old and Middle English and up until the EModE period. Visser (1963–73:749–54) cites examples from Shakespeare, among other writers, noting that the present-day English division of labour between the preterite and the *have* + past participle construction was not established until after Shakespeare's time. Jespersen (1931, § 5.1–5.2) surveys the usage from EModE onwards and illustrates continuing variation between the preterite and the perfect in certain types of sentences, largely depending on the type of time adverbial but also on contextual and pragmatic factors. From the point of view of the HE usage, his observations on sentences containing the adverbs *always, ever,* and *never* are particularly interesting. Jespersen writes:

> With *always, ever,* and *never* it is possible to use either the preterit, because the adverbs mean 'at any (no) time in the past', or the perfect, because the adverbs imply comparison with the present time. But the former is *more idiomatic,* and the reference to 'now' which is implied in the latter will in many cases be felt to be unnatural or unnecessary.
> (Jespersen 1931, § 5.1(6); my emphasis—MF)

Jespersen points out similar variation with respect to sentences involving the conjunction *since* and the preposition *until:* the preterite is used, for instance, in Shakespeare's line *I was not angry since I came to France, Vntill this instant* (Jespersen 1931, § 5.7(3)).

A further dimension to the problem of the historical and also the present-day background is added by Visser (1963–73:754), who, relying mainly on Vanneck (1958), discusses the widespread use of the preterite instead of the *have* perfect in modern spoken American English. He pays special attention to Vanneck's view according to which the AmE feature, 'colloquial preterite' in Vanneck's terminology, is a new development rather than a retention from earlier English. However, Visser is inclined to interpret it as the latter type of feature; and, more specifically, as a survival of what is sometimes called 'Mayflower English' (named after the boat of the first English immigrants to America; see Visser 1963–73:754). Sabban (1982:106–7), commenting on the same AmE tendency, suggests two other possible sources of influence, namely other immigrants whose native languages did not distinguish between the tense—aspect categories at issue here and 'Anglo-Irish' (i.e. HE in my terminology), in which, as she notes, the preterite is used in much the same way as in AmE.[5]

At this stage it is interesting to look at the evidence that I have been able to amass from the conservative dialects of BrE. If the IAP has well-established roots in the superstratum, as seems to be the case on the basis of the literature, it could be assumed to feature quite prominently in present-day dialectal varieties. An investigation of all the BrE dialect corpora and databases available to me indicates, however, that though the IAP is by no means uncommon in the conservative dialects, its presence is not so pervasive as it turned out to be especially in the (south)western HE dialects. Furthermore, there were very few tokens without the presence of the adverbs *never, ever,* or *always*. In other contexts, the standard *have* perfect was clearly preferred to the preterite form. This suggests a less prominent position for the IAP in dialectal English grammar. The same result can also be inferred on the basis of Edwards and Weltens (1985:112), who mention only Irish English and the dialect of West Wirral in the northwest Midlands as varieties which display this particular feature.

These findings suggest that the Irish substratum has at least helped to preserve and reinforce the IAP in HE dialects. As Ó Sé (1992:55) states, the Irish preterite is normally used with reference to 'experiences in indefinite past time', i.e. to indefinite anterior events/states, including also expressions with *riamh* '(n)ever'. The Irish usage is illustrated by the following examples from Ó Sé (1992:55–6):

(19) Ar léigh tú an leabhar sin riamh?
'Did you ever read that book?'

(20) Níor léigh mé an leabhar sin riamh.
'I [have] never read that book'.

(21) Chuala mé an t-amhrán sin cúpla uair.
'I have heard that song a couple of times'.

(22) Is minic a chonaic mé é.
'I have often seen it'.

Irish has no equivalent of the English *have* perfect, which of course helps to explain the HE use of the preterite for perfect aspect. This is evidently what Joyce (1910/1988:85) has in mind when he mentions the simple past tense as one of the 'expedients' used by the Irish people for expressing 'the perfect tense', which is lacking in their indigenous language. A similar view is implicit in Bliss's description of the HE tense and aspect systems. According to him, the StE perfect and pluperfect, although they are used by educated speakers, do not exist in what he calls 'pure' southern HE, with the past tense being one of the forms used there to replace them (Bliss 1984a:144).

A parallel for the HE IAP can also be pointed out in HebE, and this lends further indirect support to the substratum hypothesis. Examples recorded from HebE speakers include (23) from my HebE database and (24)–(25) from Sabban (1982:72):

(23) […] I never *seen*[6] the woman but I *heard* about her often. (SA 1970/93/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(24) Och! I was in Dunvegan Castle, I was through every room ( ) from top to bottom. (25.II.593f; cited in Sabban 1982:72)

(25) Well I'm over sixty years a crofter now, I started the croft ( ) at sixteen, and I saw a lot of changes. (51.414; cited in Sabban 1982:72)

Having discussed the earlier English parallels and the AmE usage (which she terms 'colloquial preterite' in accordance with Vanneck 1958), Sabban concludes that the Scottish Gaelic model has favoured the use of the preterite in HebE, but that influences from earlier English cannot be totally excluded (Sabban 1982:111–12).[7]

I have come to a very similar conclusion with respect to the HE IAP: because of the viability of the superstratal parallel in EModE and even later stages, and in the absence of qualitative features unique to HE, it seems hard to argue for anything more than reinforcing influence on the HE IAP from the direction of the Irish substratum. But, as Sarah Thomason has pointed out to me (personal communication), reinforcing influence must also be considered one type of contact influence, which has obvious implications for the debate on the general nature of HE as a 'contact vernacular'. The almost universal use of the IAP instead of the *have* perfect in HE, and the existence of a parallel in another 'Celtic English' give us sufficient grounds to believe that Irish has exercised a considerable amount of reinforcing influence on this feature of HE.

6.2.2 The after *perfect (AFP)*

The *after* perfect must be considered one of the best-known features of HE vernacular speech, familiar also from representations of HE in various kinds of literary works, past and present (see the discussion below). It is also a feature which perhaps best reflects the 'mismatch' between the HE and StE systems of perfects (see, e.g. Harris's (1982) report on difficulties of communication between speakers of HE and BrE in contexts involving the AFP). The meanings and uses of the AFP are illustrated by the following examples from the HE corpus:

(26) An' there was a house you'*re after passin',* there was fifteen, sixteen children in = in the house. (Clare: J.N.) '…you've just passed,…'

(27) I went = I was in the market, and I *was after buyin'* a load of strawberries. (Dublin: M.L.) '…I had just bought…'

(28) And he *was only after getting* job, taking the job over as under-secretary, from = oh, I can't think of who he got, who he took the job off. (Dublin: P.L.) 'And he had only just got…'

(29) But we seen a lot of the people that were dead, laid out where they'*re after being shot,* in the rooms by the, the […] the Stradfordshire regiment. (Dublin: W.H.)

These examples show that the AFP refers to an event or activity which has taken place in the more or less recent past but the effects of which persist some way or other into the present moment or—in the case of examples like (28) and (29) —into a secondary point of time orientation in the past, which makes them equivalent to StE past perfects. In the past perfect contexts, the AFP has the copula in the past tense form.[8] This is the common form appearing in narrative discourse, while the present tense forms are used to refer to events or activities taking place within the more or less immediate context of the speech situation. Example (29) also serves to illustrate the passive form of the AFP.

Harris (1983, 1984a) has labelled this construction as 'hot news perfect', a term which emphasises the aspect of immediate recentness of the event or activity. Kallen (1989, 1991), who provides a good survey of the definitions given in the literature for this type of time reference, notes that most of them involve the notions of recentness and/or completion of an action. His own approach allows a wider range of meanings, including reference to events or actions which are in the not-so-immediate past and even 'universal', 'existential', and 'stative' meanings in the sense of McCawley (1971). An examination of Kallen's examples reveals, however, that all can equally be said to express relative recentness and/or completion of an event or activity

(see Kallen 1989:10–11). Therefore, what Kallen's classification adds is essentially a further and, for the present purposes at least, unnecessarily elaborate semantic subclassification. I would agree with Kallen on the following point, though: the time of speaking and the time of the event reported can be more remote from each other than what the label 'hot news' presupposes. Witness, for example, the following examples from my HE corpus (for similar examples, see Kallen 1989:10–12):

(30) We *are after having* two great summers here. (Wicklow: D.M.)

(31) But we *are after having* a great = April and May, no rain. [Said in June of the same year.] (Wicklow: J.N.)

In general typologies of English perfects, the AFP would seem to correspond roughly to Leech's 'recent indefinite past' (Leech 1971:33), McCawley's 'hot news perfect' (McCawley 1971:104), and Comrie's 'perfect of recent past' (Comrie 1976:60–1) (my source here Brinton 1988:11). In StE, and in most other varieties of English, too, the construction used is the standard *have* perfect, with the time reference being mostly made more precise by the adverb *just*. Brinton's paradigmatic examples are: *John has just left* and *Bill has recently received an award* (Brinton 1988:10).

Because of its special semantic characteristics, the AFP could be expected to be restricted to certain types of contexts which are perhaps not best represented in an interview type of setting. Indeed, several writers have noted the tendency for this type of perfect to mostly occur in very informal everyday situations involving family members or close friends (see, especially, the findings of Kallen 1991). In the light of these parameters, the restrictions of the interview setting are more than obvious and, as will be seen from the quantitative survey of the frequencies below, my HE corpus is no exception (cf. also Sabban 1982: 158–9 on similar limitations of her HebE material). Yet these kinds of constraints should not be overestimated. The examples cited above show that AFPs can occur in narrative discourse as well, and reference can be made to even 'hot news', e.g. in the context of reported speech (my paradigmatic example *You're after ruining me* being one of these). Though small, the number of occurrences in the HE corpus (25 tokens) is not altogether negligible, and in fact suffices to indicate a possible pattern of geographical distribution which has hitherto not been noticed (see below). Furthermore, the AFP can be a feature of written HE, too, witness the following two examples of AFPs appearing in a letter written in 1904 by an Irish emigrant from New York to a relative in Ireland:[9]

(32) Dear Thomas it is with Sorrow I answer your letter I*was just after writing* to your Father Isent the letter on the 23 of March Dear Thomas it is very sad indeed Inever felt so bad in my life I*was just*

> *after comming* from the hospital Iwas to see my son he is bad with hip disease [...] (*The Green Papers,* No. 1, 1904; National Library of Ireland MS 11,428)

Let us next survey the quantitative data. Table 6.2 gives the absolute and average frequencies of AFPs in the HE corpus. The generally low figures confirm the mentioned contextual constraints on the use of the AFP. The 'ethnographic' or 'participant observation' method used in Kallen (1991) seems, indeed, more suitable for the study of this type of perfect. Nevertheless, the data here reveal a noteworthy feature, namely the relative prominence of this construction in Dublin speech and an almost total absence from the two (south)western dialects.[10] This seems to run counter to what could be expected on the basis of the distribution of most other distinctive features, which have consistently been more common in the west than in the east and especially in Dublin. There is a possible explanation in terms of the Irish substratum, but let us first survey the literature on the origins of the AFP.

From very early on, most writers have agreed that the AFP is a calque on the Irish *tréis* construction (see Hayden and Hartog 1909:933; Joyce 1910/1988: 85; van Hamel 1912:276; Henry 1957:177–9; Greene 1979:125–6). The Irish construction comprises the 'substantive' verb *tá* 'be', followed by the subject, the preposition *tréis* 'after' (originally *tar éis*) and the verbal noun. It is illustrated by Greene (1979:122), who labels it as 'P I', as follows:

(33) Tá sé tréis imeacht.
(lit. 'He's after going')
'He has just gone.'

The Irish origin of the HE AFP seems clear enough because of the Irish parallel and because of the absence of plausible superstratal parallels. Thus, Greene asserts that

> [t]here can be no doubt whatever that the Hiberno-English periphrastic tense using *after* is calqued on the Irish P I, since the surface

Table 6.2 Frequencies of *after* perfects in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	3	1.0
Kerry (44,000)	1	0.2
Wicklow (42,000)	9	2.1
Dublin (42,000)	12	2.9
HE total (158,000)	25	1.6

> agreement is complete and no recorded form of English offers an alternative model.
>
> (Greene 1979:125–6)

It is interesting that it should be Greene himself who has raised some complicating factors, which include the relatively recent emergence of this construction in Irish, the semantic relationship between the Early Modern Irish and Modern Irish constructions, and the relatively low frequency of use in Modern Irish dialects (Greene 1979:124–30). Not all Irish scholars share these observations, though: more recently, Diarmuid Ó Sé has on the basis of his own research come to the conclusion that the Irish P I (i.e. the *tréis* construction) is of earlier origin and also more frequent in earlier Irish than was assumed by Greene, and furthermore, that it was well in place by the time large-scale language shift began in Ireland (Ó Sé, personal communication; see also Ó Sé 1992). However, Ó Sé (personal communication) informs me that the use of the Irish P I in the Munster and Connacht dialects is 'relatively uncommon'. This last fact could possibly explain why HE AFPs were less common in the recordings from Kerry and Clare than in those from Wicklow and Dublin.

Another set of problems for the substratum account is posed by the history of the AFP in HE itself. Consider, first, the following examples from Bliss's collection of early HE texts (Bliss 1979:300):

(34) You vill be after being damn'd. (Thomas Shadwell, *The Lancashire Witches,* 1681/1682)

(35) I'll be after telling dee de Raison. (John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved,* 1705)

(36) Well, fat will you be after Drinking? (John Durant Breval, *The Play is the Plot,* 1718)

Instead of reference to the past or to the recentness/completion of an action, all clearly involve future-time reference (see Bliss 1979:301–2 for some examples with present-time reference). These kinds of *after* constructions have become something of a mystery in the history of HE and have so far defied every attempt to explain how they developed their present-day meanings—if, indeed, the present-day AFPs have evolved from the early constructions. It is of course possible to dismiss the early constructions as 'mock-Irishisms' or 'Stage-Irishisms' which do not represent the actual usage of the period (for general reservations of this sort, see Greene 1979:126; see also the discussion in section 4.2.3 above and the references there). An alternative approach would be to seek a plausible explanation for the rise and subsequent development of the *after* construction. This, in fact, is the stand adopted and defended by Bliss on the grounds of the occurrence of several similar tokens in texts written by different

people with different backgrounds. But apart from noting that *SND* records a similar usage with future-time reference for Scotland, Bliss is unable to account for the shift from the 'old' *after* construction to the modern HE AFP (Bliss 1979:300).

One possibility would be to consider the *after* of the early construction as a genuine marker of future time, modelled on related uses of *after* as a preposition denoting intention or imminence of action in other dialects of English.[11] The great problem for this account is to explain how exactly the transition happened from the intentional/imminent action meaning to the modern temporal and aspectual use. At least so far there is no evidence from the intermediate stages in the development of the *after* construction which would support this hypothesis.

Kallen (1990) is another writer who has taken up the challenge. His analysis starts from the semantic duality of *after* in 'general English' as a marker of 'anterior' events or states, on one hand, and 'prospective' events/states, on the other. The former implies a temporal reference point in the past, as in sentences like *This book was written after the author's long illness;* the latter expresses 'desire relative to the future' rather than temporality and occurs in contexts such as *Business people are always after more money* or *The cops are after you, Charlie!* The early HE *after* construction could now be considered a merger of the anterior and prospective readings of general English *after*. What according to Kallen possibly explains this kind of merger is the observation of Anderson (1982) that the perfect is used in many languages to refer not only to anterior events/states but to 'non-actual' states/events such as 'desire relative to the future' which do not imply temporal reference points. How the early *after* construction should have become restricted to anterior events/states in later HE is explained by Kallen as a decreolisation process, in the course of which the pressures from the tense and aspect system of the English superstratum have constrained the variable meaning potential of *after* and then, through a process of restructuring typical of language contact settings, led to the rather specialised meanings it has in present-day HE (Kallen 1990:130–2). Kallen's hypothesis has the merit of offering a principled explanation but, again, further evidence is needed from the intermediate steps before it can be confirmed.

At this stage, I would like to draw attention to some data which in my view are relevant to the issue of the emergence of the AFP. To begin with, Bliss (1979) has observed that the AFP in its modern sense appears rather late in the early HE texts: the first instance of the AFP comparable to the present-day usage is met in a text written in 1698 (Bliss 1979:300). Kallen (1994:173), relying on Bartley (1954:130), notes that the earliest example of any type of *after* construction is Shadwell's use dating from 1681. The late emergence of the AFP is not so surprising as such, because the same is true for some other distinctive features as well: for example, the 'medial-object' perfect' (or 'P II'), i.e. the type of perfect to be discussed in the next section, does not occur at all in Bliss's collection; furthermore, Bliss himself notes that the so-called consuetudinal construction involving *do (be)* does not appear until after 1700

(Bliss 1979:293). In a similar vein, Montgomery (1995), who has examined a collection of emigrant letters written in the period 1736–1871 by people originating mainly from the northern counties of Ireland, states that the first tokens of habitual *be, bes,* and *does be* occur in letters written no earlier than the 1860s. In fact, Montgomery's conclusion is that 'this suggests a late development of these patterns in Hiberno-English' (Montgomery 1995:35–6).

All this is of course of some importance when assessing the availability of the Irish model. Even if we were to accept Greene's (1979) contention that the *tréis* construction was a rather late innovation, it would most probably have been well in place by the period of the most intensive language shift in the early nineteenth century, which is when the HE *after* construction seems to have acquired its present-day forms and meanings. That this could be the correct dating is supported by evidence from contemporary literary texts which indicates that, although the AFP had developed its modern sense by then, the 'old' *after* construction still lingered on, which is shown by numerous occurrences of the *after* construction with future-time reference in works written in that period. The 'old' construction is illustrated by the following examples I have come across in a manuscript dating from around 1830, entitled *Cathal Croibdearg or The Old Nurse's Tale or Tales told in Connaught* (National Library of Ireland MS 4,696, of unknown authorship):

(37) '[…] I *will be after curing* the poor baste [beast], sure enough; —but it will take a power of time, before ye's be able to back him.' '…I will cure…'

(38) 'Ogh hone, ogh hone! that's too much for my poor ould heart, it *will be after breaking* outright, so it will, if you be going on at that rate, […]' '…it will break…'

The conspicuously frequent use of other similar constructions in this particular text leads one to suspect that this could be a belated continuation of the Stage Irish tradition, with little or no basis in actual HE usage. Comparison with some other texts from the same period reveals, however, that although the 'old' *after* construction, whether Stage Irish or not, appears to have become almost obsolete by then, occasional examples can be spotted, for instance, in the works of William Carleton, who could hardly be blamed for sustaining mock-Irish usages. Thus, in his *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* one can find the 'old' construction, as in (39), alongside the 'new' AFP, illustrated by (40) and (41):

(39) 'Jack, by this time, was beginning to think that they *might be afther wishing to throw* luck in his way; for he had often heard of men being made up entirely by the fairies, till there was no end to their wealth.' (Carleton 1842–44/1990:26)
'…they might wish to throw…'

(40) '"How can any man speed, that comes after you?" says the Friar; "I'*m after travelling* the half of the parish for that poor bag of oats that you see standing against the ditch."' (Carleton 1842–44/1990:74)
'…I've just travelled…'

(41) '[…] So he suffered, poor fellow, an' died right game, for he said over his *dhrop* [original emphasis—MF] —ha, ha, ha—that he was innocent o' the murder as a child unborn: an' so he was in *one* [original emphasis] sinse, *bein' afther gettin'* absolution [my emphasis—MF].' (Carleton 1842–44/1990:390)
'…having just got absolution.'

It is worth noting, though, that the 'new' AFP is relatively uncommon in Carleton's writing, and the same holds true for another well-known author from the same period, viz. John Banim. A few odd examples like the one in (42), cited from Banim's novel *The Nowlans,* can be found in his works, but their overall frequencies remain very low:

(42) '[…] I'm sure of that in the heart within; for you'*re after breakin'* Peery's heart, Peggy Nowlan, an' […]' (Banim 1826/1992:86)

Apart from the instances of AFPs cited from the emigrant letters in (32) above, some of the other letters contained structures in which *after* was followed by a noun phrase, instead of the usual *-ing* participle:

(43) P.William FitzGerald of Barrick Street Tallow received a Passage Ticket from Liverpool to New York No. 3212 Thompson's Black Star line of Liverpool Packets Which I am Very sorry to say that I am not Able to Imbrace the oppertunity show it your Hon.r I *am after a Heavy fit of Sickness* and Pains remained in my Bones I findy my self Disabled to go this spring […] (*The Grimshaw Papers,* No. 5, 1864; National Library of Ireland MS 15,784)

(44) We *are after 3 days and 3 nights rain* which fell in torents the same as a cascade. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 13, 1863; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:92)

Interestingly, Hayden and Hartog (1909:933) mention a similar construction *(I am after my breakfast)* when discussing the AFP and clearly treat it as belonging to the same pattern. Given that the Irish construction has a verbal noun after the preposition *tréis,* this kind of calquing should be a natural phenomenon.[12] In fact, it could be one of the steps in the development of the AFP, but for some reason or other it does not appear to survive in modern HE usage, or at least it has not been recorded in the recent studies of HE perfects with the

exception of Moylan, whose example from Kilkenny dialect is *I'm after my dinner* (Moylan 1996:357). There were no tokens in my HE corpus (and no mention in Kallen 1989, for example). In any case, its existence in earlier HE casts some doubt on the hypothesis according to which the *after* of the modern HE construction could be related to the preposition denoting intention or imminence of action in other dialects of English.

In conclusion, I would regard the AFP as a clear case of substratum transfer in spite of some of the queries discussed above. Besides the Irish parallel, substratal origin is supported by the fact that no plausible parallels have been documented either in earlier or dialectal English. There were no instances in the southwestern BrE corpus or in the SED materials from the West Midlands and northern dialects. It is worth noting that Greene (1979), too, who has some reservations about the status of this type of perfect in dialects of Irish, arrives at a similar conclusion with regard to the origin of the HE AFP. It is true, as Sabban (1982:161 Note) points out, that *EDD* contains two tokens of AFPs found in non-Celtic areas, one in Suffolk, another in Cheshire, but this can hardly be considered sufficient evidence of its general use in these dialects. It has also to be remembered that Wright's data-gathering methods allowed inclusion of features which were not always drawn from actual speech but from a variety of more or less indirect sources (cf. the discussion of *do*-periphrasis in section 6.3).

A further significant fact supporting the substratal origin is the existence of a parallel construction in HebE. This is illustrated by (45) and (46) from my HebE database, and by (47) and (48) from Sabban's study:

(45) I think it will be a good morning. [Will it?] Aye, the mist *is after clearing*. (SA 1970/110/B/Tiree: D.K.)[13]

(46) And then he called up my mother and he told her, 'Well, it must be true', he says, 'Duncan Lamont there'*s after going away* was telling me he meets the same man too.' (SA 1970/110/A/Tiree: D.K.)

(47) …but of course I'm after forgetting all that lot now. (39–177; cited in Sabban 1982:155)

(48) I was after being at a cattle sale…(14.II.259/.264; cited in Sabban 1982:155)

According to Sabban, the HebE AFP is built on the model of Scottish Gaelic. In discussing the substratal parallel she remarks that the Scottish Gaelic *air* + Verbal Noun construction is not restricted to the immediate past but can denote completed action in general. This is reflected in the meanings of the HebE AFP, which, as Sabban claims, allows a somewhat wider range of meanings than its 'Anglo-Irish' counterpart (Sabban 1982:163–4). We have

however been able to establish above that the HE AFP can equally express 'not-so-hot news'. A possible explanation for this is the oft-noted cross-linguistic tendency for perfects to expand their range of uses and, in particular, to relax the required degree of recentness (see, e.g. Comrie 1976:60–1). The same trend is according to Greene's (1979:128) observations evidenced by the present-day Irish P I and, as he further notes, by the HE *after* perfect. A further interesting parallel can be found in Newfoundland English, in both NVIE (the most Irish-influenced variety) and NVE (the more widespread, 'fused' variety): according to Clarke, these varieties make regular use of *after* perfects, which are 'by no means restricted to a "hot news" function' (Clarke 1997:216).

Finally, Greene offers some interesting comments on the Welsh perfects which appear to have undergone a similar process of expanding their original domains. To begin with, Welsh has no direct equivalent of the Irish and Scottish Gaelic *tréis/air* constructions, but expresses the 'recent perfect' by adding *newydd* 'just' to the periphrastic construction involving the preposition *wedi* 'after', used (alongside the preterite) for the 'ordinary' present perfect the same way as English does. This leads to a contrast between *yr wyf wedi ei weld ef* 'I have seen him' and *yr wyf newydd ei weld ef* 'I have just seen him' (Greene 1979: 126). Thus, despite the apparent similarity with the Irish and Scottish Gaelic construction, Welsh requires the presence of the adverb to underline the recentness of the event or activity. This probably explains the fact that WE has no *after* perfect.[14]

6.2.3 The 'medial-object' perfect (MOP)

The perfect with object before the past participle is yet another feature commonly associated with HE. In the literature, this construction has been rather variably termed 'completive' perfect (Kirchner 1952), 'archaic construction of present perfect tense' (Taniguchi 1972), 'Retrospective II' (Henry 1957), 'P II' (Greene 1979; Harris 1984a), and 'accomplishment' perfect (Kallen 1989). Despite the cost of adding to the already prolific terminology, I have chosen to use the term 'medial-object' perfect (MOP), because it is transparent enough and avoids some of the problems associated with semantic labels (see the discussion below). Examples (49)–(51) from my HE corpus provide further illustration of typical MOPs:

(49) It was […] calm and sun all the time. Cut it today, and turn it tomorrow, and bale it the next day […] Couple of weeks, about three weeks we *had it* [i.e. the hay] *all done* […] Had it in, and […] (Wicklow: J.F.)

(50) Well, Carroll died, and his [..] Carroll's brother *have it* [a local pub] *bought* there with the last couple of months. (Kerry: D.B.)

(51) When he'd come home, the father [would say to his daughter], 'Mary, I *have your match made*'. (Clare: J.N.)

The meaning of the MOP is best described as 'stative' and/or 'resultative': the construction focuses on the end-point, result, or resulting state, of the action rather than the action itself (cf. Harris 1984a:312; Kallen 1989:17–18). For this type of meaning, Brinton's survey of perfects produces terms such as 'resultative perfect' (Kruisinga 1931:390; Bauer 1970:189), 'stative perfect' (McCawley 1971:104), and 'perfect of result' (Comrie 1976:56–8) (all quoted here from Brinton 1988:11). The normal means of expression in StE is again the 'standard' *have* perfect, as can be seen from Brinton's examples *I have eaten lunch (and am therefore not hungry now)* and *He has caught a cold (and hence cannot come to work)* (Brinton 1988:10).

In MOPs, the subject is most often understood as the agent of the activity expressed by the verb phrase. The verbs are transitive (because an object is involved) and most often, though not necessarily, dynamic verbs of activity or accomplishment. The object typically represents something which is in some way or other affected by the action. In my HE corpus, the five most common verbs were *do, make, build, get,* and *forget*. *Do* and *make* were also the most common verbs in the usage of northern IrE speakers, as reported in Harris (1983) and (1984a), and in Kallen's (1989) study, which was mainly based on data collected from speakers representing southern dialects of HE, including Dublin speech.

However, other types of verbs also occurred in the HE corpus, which shows the productive nature of the construction. Consider, for example, (52) and (53), which contain momentary verbs:

(52) And Leary and Hehir were to remain outside in case there'd be any surprise visit from police or anything. But I *have a bit of it* [of the story] *skipped:* […] (Clare: C.O'B.)

(53) There was a landlord shot in Tipperary some time before that, and he started his story that 'tis he *had the landlord shot,* and that he was on the run from the police. (Clare: C.O'B.)

Furthermore, the subject may have other roles than agent as well, as is illustrated by (54)–(56), which involve stative verbs of perception or 'inert' perception:

(54) […] they *hadn't each other seen* for four or five years […] (Clare: F.K.)[15]

(55) Oh God, but sure I am talked this is the tale. Heard a lot of it, *I've a lot of it missed.* (Kerry: M.C.)

(56) There's a whole little rhyme about it, and I *have it forgot.* (Wicklow: T.F.)

It is important to keep the MOP apart from superficially identical constructions with different readings such as that in (57), cited from Visser (1963–73), and those in (58) and (59) from Kirchner (1952):

(57) He had it done 'he got (caused) it (to be) done by someone else'. (Visser 1963–73:2190)

(58) The pilot had a leg broken. (Kirchner 1952:396)

(59) The neutrals have their ships destroyed. (Kirchner 1952:396)

The first one, which entails a causative reading, has been labelled as 'indirect consecution' by Visser; Harris's (1984a:312) term for the same construction is 'indirect passive'. The second and third are described by Kirchner (1952:395) as examples of the *have*-passive; he also refers to O.Curme's term 'passive of experience' and V.Mathesius's term 'possessive passive'. What is common to all three is that they entail a second (mostly covert) subject (in the form of an agent *by*-phrase), which is not co-referential with the first one. This feature distinguishes these constructions from the HE MOP, which always entails coreferential subjects.

In order to pave the way for a discussion of the origins of the MOP, I will next turn to the frequencies of use of MOPs in the HE corpus. These are as shown in Table 6.3. As compared with the IAPs discussed above, the frequencies of MOPs are clearly lower, but almost twice as high as those of the AFPs. In further contrast with the AFP, the MOP appears to be more frequent in the (south)western varieties than in the eastern ones. The reliability of these figures is enhanced by the fact that the same trend emerges when comparison is made between the frequencies of the MOP and those of the 'standard' perfect, with object after the participle. The results can be seen in Table 6.4. As with IAPs above, this kind of comparison raises a number of problems: it is not always clear whether the two constructions are equivalent in meaning in HE usage, and even if they are, to what extent they are interchangeable (cf. Harris 1984a: 310–14). However, since HE vernacular does make use of the standard pattern as well (see also the discussion in section 6.2.6), a comparative survey of the frequencies should give us some indication

Table 6.3 Frequencies of medial-object perfects in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	14	4.7
Kerry (44,000)	15	3.4
Wicklow (42,000)	8	1.9
Dublin (42,000)	3	0.7
HE total (158,000)	40	2.5

Table 6.4 Frequencies of the MOP compared to those of the 'standard' *have* perfect (*have* + object + past participle versus *have* + past participle + object)

Area	*MOP*	Have *perfect*	*% MOP*
Clare	14	13	51.9
Kerry	15	24	38.5
Wicklow	8	41	16.3
Dublin	3	25	10.7
HE total	40	103	28.0

of the degree of grammaticalisation of each pattern in traditional HE vernacular (see Filppula 1994a and Kallen 1990 for further discussion).

The figures in Table 6.4 reveal a clear pattern of variation which could be explained in terms of Irish substratal influence. Indeed, the traditional wisdom has been that the MOP has evolved in HE mainly as a result of substratal influence from Irish, which has a very similar construction, both in form and meaning. For example, Henry (1957:177) writes that the HE perfect with mid-position object is based on 'a static interpretation of action', which is also a characteristic feature of the Irish construction. He goes on to pair examples of HE usage with their parallels in Irish and, in reference to Kirchner's (1952) discussion of the same pattern in Standard English, adds a note saying that 'there can be little doubt that the A.I. [Anglo-Irish] construction is of Ir. [Irish] origin' (Henry 1957:177, fn. 1; see also Greene 1979:141 for a similar conclusion). A couple of Henry's examples are given in (60) and (61) to illustrate the correspondence between HE and Irish (Henry 1957:177):

(60) He has it written.
Tá sé scríobhtha aige.
'Is it written at-him.'

(61) He has it broken.
Tá sé briste aige.
'Is it broken at-him.'

A mere formal comparison between HE and Irish does not, however, shed very much light on the mechanism of transfer, i.e. on the question of how exactly transfer should have taken place. A simple calque is out of the question, since Irish has no verb 'to have'; instead, it expresses possession and state by means of the 'substantive' verb *tá* 'be' (as opposed to the 'copula' *is* 'be'), followed by the syntactic subject, the past participle and, at the end of the phrase, the prepositional pronoun denoting the logical subject.

Bliss (1972:73–4) seeks to account for the transfer process by pointing out that the Irish sequence *tá…aige* 'is at-him' is systematically rendered by (clause-

initial) *he has* in HE; since the order of the other constituents remains the same as in the Irish model, the automatic result is the typical HE pattern with the object in mid-position. Thus a simple possessive sentence such as *Tá deoch aige* 'Is drink at-him' is rendered by *He has a drink,* and the (stative) perfective *Tá an litir scríofa aige* 'Is the letter written at-him' would produce *He has the letter written* as the corresponding HE form.

Unfortunately, early HE texts do not seem to yield much evidence to illuminate the initial stages of development of the MOP. Bliss's collection of early HE texts does not contain any tokens of MOPs (see also Kallen 1990:129 for a similar observation). However, Visser cites one example of a MOP from George Farquhar's (1702/1703) comedy *Twin Rivals,* an extract from which is included in Bliss's collection. The example involves the verb *finish* in the sentence *I have another play just finished, but I want a plot for't* (Visser 1963–73:2190). The MOP seems to be only occasionally used by the early nineteenth-century authors like William Carleton or John Banim.[16] The same is true of the nineteenth-century letters, which may suggest a rather late emergence of this feature in HE dialects (cf. the discussion of *after* perfects above).[17]

The other 'Celtic Englishes' do not provide any direct evidence for or against the substratum hypothesis. Sabban's description of HebE perfects makes no mention of an equivalent of the MOP in HebE. Given that her account is generally most accurate and comprehensive, the absence of MOPs from her data and discussion can be taken to mean that this type of perfect is either not used or is at best extremely rare in HebE. I found only one instance in my HebE database:

(62) That's the way he *had him deceived* [...] (SA 1968/247/B5/Tiree: D.S.)

This hardly suffices to confirm general use of this type of perfect in HebE. However, the difference between HE and HebE constitutes no argument against the substratum account: on the contrary, as is noted by Greene (1979:133), Scottish Gaelic has not developed an equivalent of what he terms 'P II' in Irish, i.e. the perfect construction with object in mid-position. This provides a neat explanation for the difference between HebE and HE usage on this particular point and, as regards the HE MOP, indirectly supports the substratum account. Clarke (1997) reports on common use in NVE of what she—in accordance with the terminology of Kallen (1989)—calls 'accomplishment perfect'. The semantic and lexical characteristics of NVE usage appear to be very similar to those of HE MOPs, except that the usual auxiliary in NVE is *got* rather than *have* (Clarke 1997:215). This may have some bearing on the issue of possible AmE influence on NVE, although Clarke argues that the roots of NVE accomplishment perfects are to be found in the two main sources of NVE: the southwestern dialects of England and IrE (ibid.).

Let us next turn to the possible superstratal parallels. Some instances of medial-object perfects can be found in EModE texts. Thus, Kirchner (1952)

cites from Shakespeare such examples as *thou hast thy father much offended; H. in madness hath P. slain; he which hath your noble father slain* (Hamlet III, 4, 9; IV, 1, 34; 7, 4; quoted from Kirchner 1952:402). Other authors in his list of citations include Dekker, W.Penn, and Donne. Visser (1963–73:2190–1) also quotes a few examples from Shakespeare and one from Otway (1682); these are the only two seventeenth-century sources, and the following century is also represented by only two authors, one of whom is the aforementioned George Farquhar—an Irish writer, who was born and educated in Derry (see Bliss 1979:61–2 for more details). Visser states that medial-object perfects were frequently used as late as the sixteenth century, but then 'after about Shakespeare's time' the pattern with post-position of the object gradually replaced them (Visser 1963–73:2190). As is generally known, the rivalry between these two types of perfects reaches back as far as Old English (and possibly even earlier). The perfect with mid-position object was the prevailing perfect form in OE, but an alternative construction with the object in post-position already existed in Old English. Thus, Mitchell (1985:282–3; 285–6) gives numerous examples of both patterns drawn from OE texts, noting that the final-object perfect occurs in principal clauses, in particular, but is not restricted to them. As we now know from the discussion above, from OE onwards the final-object pattern gradually gained ground and eventually ousted the medial-object pattern from all but very limited, clearly stative, contexts. Visser (1963–73:2190) cites as examples constructions such as *I have him beaten, he had him trapped, I have her cornered,* which according to him are common in 'Anglo-Irish' and AmE, but are found even in present-day StE 'with increasing frequency, especially in popular diction'. It has been a matter of some controversy whether this present-day use of the medial-object pattern is in fact a survival of the 'old' pattern: for instance, Brinton argues that it is not, because the order *have* + object + past participle does not acquire an exclusively stative meaning (as in Visser's examples above) until its rival had established its perfect meaning, i.e. from the seventeenth century onwards (Brinton 1994:162).

Despite the uncertainties surrounding the continuity of the OE and ME perfects with mid-position object, there would seem to be enough evidence to confirm earlier English as the principal source of the HE MOP. Indeed, this is the stand adopted by some writers (see, especially, Harris 1983 and 1984a). Although the 'retentionist' account appears to be widely accepted in the most recent research on HE perfects (see, e.g. Kallen 1994:192; Clarke 1997:215), it leaves open a number of problems which in my view have so far not been adequately addressed. The first one concerns the status of the English parallel in the grammatical system of earlier English, and especially in the English of those periods most relevant to the case at hand. It was already noted above that the evidence from the EModE period rests on a conspicuously small number of instances cited mainly from the works of Shakespeare. As Brinton (1994:150) remarks, the examples from Shakespeare occur in verse and cannot therefore provide direct evidence of the extent of use of what

she calls the 'conclusive perfect' in EModE. In order to shed more light on the status of the MOP in earlier English, I have conducted a longitudinal study of the frequencies and uses of perfects with mid-position objects and final-position objects on the basis of the Helsinki Corpus. This study, covering the third subperiod of the Old English part of the Corpus and the whole of the Middle English and Early Modern English periods, is reported in detail in Filppula (1994b) and (1996). The following is a brief summary of the main results of the statistical survey. To begin with, Table 6.5 gives the frequencies of perfects with mid-position object. The table reveals a steadily declining pattern from ME II onwards: the medial-object perfect is rather scarce as early as the latter half of the ME period, and the pattern virtually dies out by the end of that period, which is shown by the strikingly low number of occurrences in the EModE part of the Corpus.[18] A further investigation into the distribution of this type of perfect between texts written in prose versus verse revealed that towards the end of the ME period perfects with mid-position object become restricted to verse texts (Filppula 1994b).

The observed decline of the medial-object pattern towards the end of the ME period can be considered to be part of a more general change of English word order from SOV (or Verb-second order) to SVO. Thus, my findings are in line with those of van der Wurff (1992), who has investigated the general rates of incidence of Object—Verb order in a body of late Middle English texts from about 1300 to 1450. Of approximately 29,000 clauses in these texts, only some 600, i.e. some 2 per cent, displayed the OV order. Van der Wurff also found a significant difference in the use of OV between prose and poetry, this order becoming a marker of poetic style already from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. The same trend in general word order development is also confirmed by Fischer, who writes that the shift from SOV to SVO took place in early ME in what she calls 'root clauses' (i.e. in main clauses), and by late ME this change was completed in 'non-root clauses' (Fischer 1994:154).

Table 6.5 Frequencies of perfects with mid-position object in the Helsinki Corpus

Period	N	N/*10,000*
OE III (950–1050)	68	2.7
ME I (1150–1250)	56	5.0
ME II (1250–1350)	56	5.7
ME III (1350–1420)	53	2.9
ME IV (1420–1500)	21	1.0
EModE I (1500–1570)	4	0.2
EModE II (1570–1640)	2	0.1
EModE III (1640–1710)	2	0.1

In order to obtain a better picture of the 'competition' between perfects with mid-position and final-position objects we can next compare the historical profiles of the two patterns. This is done in the form of a graph in Figure 3 (taken from Filppula 1994b). Note that this graph covers only the earliest developments up to the end of the ME period but, given that the final-object perfect was by that time fully established, the overall trend should be more than evident.[19]

As can be seen from Figure 6.1, the curve for the final-object pattern rises fairly steeply from OE III to ME II, which is the point where the medial-object pattern starts to head downwards. Note, however, that the curves do not tell the whole truth about the long-term developments and about the relationship between the two patterns. This is because the overall average frequencies of periphrastic *have* perfects rise all the time from OE to ME and onwards. In fact, the frequencies of periphrastic perfects of all types are already more than doubled from OE to ME I, tripled by ME II, and they continue to rise throughout the ME and even EModE periods. Taking these facts into account means that the downhill of the medial-object perfect is actually even steeper than what it seems on the basis of Figure 3, and that it started earlier than ME II.

The scarcity of the medial-object perfect and its stylistically marked nature in the early period of language contact in Ireland seriously weaken the force of the retentionist argument. The likelihood of the early English medial-object pattern as the principal model for the HE MOP is further reduced if the formation of HE grammar, as we know it today, dates back to a somewhat later period than is usually assumed in superstratum accounts.

A second group of problems for the superstratum account is presented by the semantics of the HE MOPs. In Filppula (1996) I discuss evidence which suggests that the semantic characteristics of the HE MOP match almost perfectly

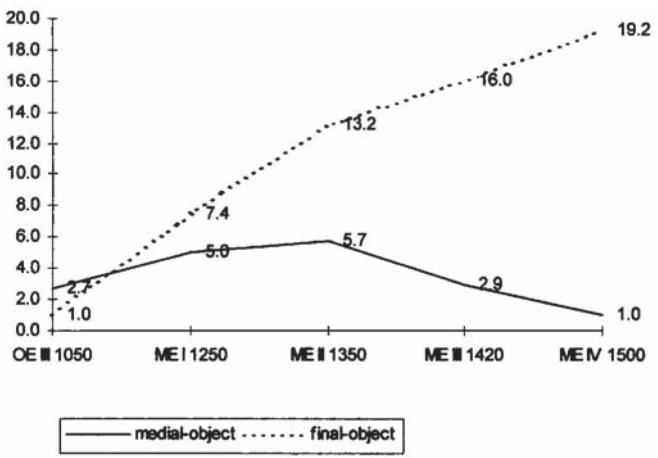


Figure 6.1 Average frequencies of medial-object and final-object perfects in the Helsinki Corpus

those of P II, the corresponding Irish pattern. As for the latter, I have relied on the thorough description given in Ó Sé (1992). Thus, both HE MOPs and Irish P IIs can express stative and/or resultative meanings, as can be seen from the pairs of examples given in (63) and (64). The Irish examples are taken from Ó Sé (1992:47–8); the HE examples were already given in (49–50) but are repeated here in (63b) and (64b) for convenience:

(63a) Tá sé déanta agam
'I have it done.'

(63b) It was […] calm and sun all the time. Cut it today, and turn it tomorrow, and bale it the next day […] Couple of weeks, about three weeks we *had it* [i.e. the hay] *all done* […] Had it in, and […] (Wicklow: J.F.)

(64a) Tá an teach díolta agam
'I have sold the house.'

(64b) Well, Carroll died, and his […] Carroll's brother *have it* [a local pub] *bought* there with the last couple of months. (Kerry: D.B.)

It could be argued that the first pair refers to the state reached by the action described in the verb phrase, whereas the second pair focuses on the result of some prior action rather than the state. Following the distinction drawn by Ó Sé (1992) on the basis of the semantic roles of the sentence elements, one can say that stative perfects involve verbs with agentive subject and affected object ('patient' in Ó Sé's terminology); the reading is resultative rather than stative when the subject is an agent but the object is not 'affected', at least not in the same sense as in the stative case.[20] However, more important than this distinction is the third type of meaning conveyed by both HE MOPs and Irish P IIs. This is what Ó Sé (1992:48) has termed 'temporal' reference, i.e. meanings which are neither stative nor resultative, illustrated by (65a) for Irish and (65b) for HE (the latter example is from the additional material obtained from the DIF archives). In this type of perfect, the subject is not an agent (although only one subject is involved as in all other P IIs and MOPs), and the object is not affected (or patient) in any way; the verbs are those of perception (cf. Ó Sé 1992:48):

(65a) Tá an chuach cloiste inniu agam
'I have heard the cuckoo today.'

(65b) But sure we *have it heard* from olden times that they [fairies] were there. (DIF Text Archives/Clare: M.R.)

It is this type of usage, rare though it appears to be in HE as well as in Irish, which perhaps most clearly differentiates the HE MOPs from their superstratal parallels. It is true that earlier English uses of the medial-object perfect were semantically more versatile and also lexically less restricted than those of the present-day language, but at least the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus does not contain any instances like the ones in (54) and (65b) above, nor any instances of other verbs of inert perception used in this way.

At this stage, it is interesting to see what kind of evidence is obtainable from conservative BrE dialects. Again, my findings are based on the southwestern corpus and the SED materials from the West Midlands and northern dialects. It appears that the medial-object perfects are very rare in BrE dialects, and those few instances that were found were all semantically more restricted than their HE counterparts. They all occurred in the southwestern corpus and appeared to be stative in meaning, i.e. focusing on a state resulting from some prior action, as in (66) and (67) below. Note further that none of the instances had the verb in the present perfect form, which may also be of some importance.

(66) I said, I'd catch en [i.e. a fox] some fashion or other. I *had some wires put down,* and he never went near em. (Somerset: J.M.)

(67) Oh, you had straw, layer of straw in the bottom. Then you *had so much apple pummy put* in there. (Somerset: J.M.)

HE MOPs, as was seen above, display a wider range of meanings and a wider lexical variety, too, besides being freely used in either the present or past perfect forms. In conclusion, the conservative English data lend very little, if any, support to the superstratum account, which has on closer inspection turned out to be much more problematical than would appear at first sight (cf. Clarke's (1997) view on the possible southwestern BrE input to NVE mentioned above). Although it does not seem possible to rule out superstratal influences on HE MOPs, the evidence for a significant, and not merely reinforcing, role played by Irish is very strong.

6.2.4 The be *perfect (BEP)*

As compared with the other perfects, the *be* perfect is perhaps a less conspicuous feature of HE speech, but striking enough to a keen observer to deserve a closer investigation. It is similar to the MOP (and the *after* perfect) in that it favours verbs with dynamic meaning. The principal difference is that the BEP occurs with intransitive verbs. Below are some examples from my HE corpus:

(68) I know they'*re gone* mad here in motorcars. (Kerry: M.C.)

(69) Well now *, take = the majority of people, they come from the

North. All of 'm people *are come* down here, now. Nearly. (Kerry: D.B.)

(70) And herself started laughin'. There was a lot about fairies long ago — whether they were right or wrong—but I'm thinkin' that most of 'em *are vanished*. (Clare: M.R.)

The BEP has a meaning which resembles that of the MOP: the focus is clearly on the end-point or result of some prior activity or event. Harris (1984a:308) characterises the function of BEPs as being 'statal resultative', and in fact regards this construction as the intransitive counterpart of the transitive P II (i.e. MOP in my terminology). Though using different terminology, Kallen (1989:19) gives an essentially similar description of the BEP: according to him, the dynamic activity expressed by the predicate construction is completed by the time of the utterance. Both writers note the lexically restricted uses of the BEP in HE: it appears to be confined to 'mutative' verbs such as *leave, change, die,* and *go* (Harris 1984a:308; Kallen 1989:18–19).

The set of verbs occurring with the BEP in my HE corpus was slightly different from those observed in previous studies. There were no occurrences of *leave, change,* or *die* among the BEPs, whereas the vast majority in my database, too, involved the verb *go*. This is an indication of the rather unproductive nature of this type of perfect, but there were scattered instances of a few other dynamic intransitive verbs especially in the corpora from the two (south)western dialects. These included *come* and *vanish,* already illustrated in (69) and (70) above,[21] but also *wear, wither, fade,* and *dry* from the Clare and Kerry corpora, and *break up* from the Dublin corpus:[22]

(71) Maybe the clift *is worn away* now. (Clare: F.K.)

(72) And there was a big ash-tree growing there one time = and it is = it is = it *is withered* and *fade' away* now. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(73) […] we dry it [i.e. turf] after cutting it on the bog, spread it out and it dries away. And it'll = then when it *is dried* enough we brings it with a tractor, see. (Kerry: J.F.)

(74) […] they [i.e. the band called The Dubliners] are great seeing. But I think they *are broke up* now. […] Ah, they have broke up, […] (Dublin: J.O'B.)

As is usual in corpus-based studies, there was a small number of less clear instances which assumed the form of the BEP. Such was, for example, the verb *happen* in the context illustrated in (75). Being intransitive and also semantically compatible with the other verbs, it was here considered a BEP. By contrast,

the instance of transitive *forget* with *was* in (76) is better relegated to the category of doubtful cases.

(75) […] the thing *isn't happened* out in the States, when we have it here = before a = half an hour or an hour. (Clare: J.N.)

(76) I couldn't follow it, I c' = I can't. But then they, I have Irish sentences and Irish words, you know. = But that's all, I *was* completely *forgotten* it. (Kerry: M.McG.)

As a curiosity, one could finally mention the use of the verb *belong* with *be* rather than *have* in the speech of one of the Dubliners. The first, definite past, instance in (77)—and there were a few others—makes it evident that the speaker does, indeed, favour the auxiliary *be,* which is however disguised under the contracted form in the next two instances which are statal-resultative:

(77) I think it was the tallest Georgian house in the city of Dublin. It *was belonged* to Sir James Murray […] And he [i.e. the informant's father] used to say, 'Do you know who that'*s belonged* to?' I'd say, 'No, father.' 'Well, that'*s belonged* to Joe Brady, one of the Park murderers. There's Joe Brady's ring.' (Dublin: P.L.)

As regards the historical background, the BEP belongs to those features of IrE which have been said to go back to earlier varieties of EngE (see, especially Harris 1983 and 1984a), but the possibility of substratum influence has also been suggested (see, e.g. Bliss 1979). Earlier English ancestry is supported by the fact that it is not at all hard to find occurrences in EModE usage. The following examples are drawn from the last subperiod of the EModE section of the Helsinki Corpus:

(78) This day letters *are come* that my sister is very ill. (E3 NN DIARY PEPYS VIII, 314)

(79) Some greate designe in hand, by our preparation at Sea, now the Fr:[ench] fleete *is gone* home: […] (E3 NN DIARY EVELYN 930)

(80) […] and that it was scarce possible to know certainly whether our Hearts *are changed,* unless it appeared in our lives; […] (E3 NN BIO BURNETROC 147)

Kytö (1994) provides a detailed quantitative study of *be/have* variation with intransitive verbs in the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus. Her results show that in the last subperiod of the Corpus (i.e. 1640–1710) *be* is still preferred to *have,* accounting for as many as 63 per cent of the instances. As compared

with the first subperiod (1500–70), this indicates a decline of some 7 percentage points (for further details, see Kytö 1994:183). The later fortunes of the BEP have been investigated by Rydén and Brorström (1987), summarised in Rydén (1991). According to their quantitative study, the BEP was favoured in most contexts over its alternative paradigm involving *have* as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century. While the overall *be:have* ratio for the eighteenth century was 3:1, it was roughly reversed during the next century, with the early part of the nineteenth century marking the period which witnessed the paradigmatic majority of *have*. This was then followed by a rapid decline in the frequencies of BEPs, as is often the case with paradigm changes (Rydén 1991: 346–7). It is interesting to compare the historical profile of the BEP with that of its 'partners' in the system of perfects: the BEP is able to survive much longer than the earlier English medial-object perfect, its transitive counterpart discussed above, or the extended-now perfect (see the discussion below). This may be due to the existence of this kind of perfect in several other western European languages.

The BEP continues to be used in the conservative BrE dialects, although on the basis of my data it is restricted to the verb *go* alone. Of course, the smallness of the corpora from these varieties has to be taken into account here, and the same applies to comparisons between frequencies of use. The average rate of occurrence in the BrE corpora was some 3 tokens per 10,000 words, which is more or less at the same level as in the Dublin corpus, but less than in the rural HE dialects (see Table 6.6 below). The SED materials from the West Midlands and northern dialects did not yield any tokens, which indicates that the BEP is, generally speaking, in the process of becoming obsolete in all but a few frozen idioms such as *x is gone*.

Despite the evidence suggesting a superstratal origin for HE BEPs, matters are somewhat complicated by Kallen's observation according to which BEPs are more productive in IrE dialects today than in other varieties of English (see Kallen 1989:18). This could be taken to support Bliss's suggestion that the HE usage reflects the corresponding Irish construction (Bliss 1979:294). Kallen does not, however, discuss this possibility nor does he provide any empirical evidence for his generalisation, but we can here use the databases that I have collected from HE and the conservative BrE dialects. Let us first look at the frequencies

Table 6.6 Frequencies of *be* perfects in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	16	5.3
Kerry (44,000)	18	4.1
Wicklow (42,000)	24	5.7
Dublin (42,000)	12	2.9
HE total (158,000)	70	4.4

of use in the HE corpus, given in Table 6.6.[23] In comparison with the other types of perfect discussed so far, the BEP is far less frequent than the IAP but slightly more frequent than the *after* perfect or the MOP. In quantitative terms, there is some indication of a rural—urban divide similar to that observed for several other features. A closer examination of the data also suggests some qualitative differences between the four HE dialects: it appears that the rural dialects favour BEPs in contexts which are not found in Dublin speech. These are 'not-so-statal' uses, in which the verb has an adjectival or adverbial complement. Consider the following examples from my corpus:

(81) I think the younger generations *are gone* idle over it. And they'*re gone* useless to a certain extent, […] (Kerry: M.C.)

(82) This was s'posed to be a Gaeltacht area, but = all the Irish, they *are* all *gone* out of it, they *are* all *gone*. (Kerry: C.D.)

(83) And when he would come out nobody knew him. His hair was white, and he *was gone* into a little old man. (Wicklow: T.F.)

(84) Well, about ten o'clock in the day then there was police sent out to Lickeen to arrest Tom Leary and Hehir. And Tom Leary *was gone* to a neighbour—I think he was O'Loughlainn— […] (Clare: C.O'B.)

The presence of the complement changes the meaning towards a more dynamic or resultative interpretation, away from the frozenness of the usual idiomatic meaning attached to the corresponding construction without a complement, as in the phrase *be dead and gone*. As was noted above, the two (south)western varieties also displayed more lexical variety in their BEPs than the eastern ones, which together with the just mentioned tendency for complementation confirms the somewhat greater productivity of the BEP in these dialects as compared with either Wicklow or Dublin speech. Yet the fact that the vast majority of the instances even in the western dialects involved the verb *go* indicates that the BEP has by and large become lexically frozen and is destined to become something of a relic feature.

The long-term trend can also be confirmed by data from early HE texts. In his commentary on the early HE uses of perfects, Bliss (1979:294) lists several occurrences of 'verbs of motion', which construe their perfects with *be* and the past participle, e.g.: *di Lady is runne away from dee* (v 10), *I am come a great vay of miles* (vi 23), *Duke Scomberg and his Army is come* (xvii 19), *'tis come burying you are de corp* (xviii 6), *the wind is turn'd, the wind was turn'd* (xxvii 148). To these could be added *sink* in *Is all your boasted Fortune sunk to the guilty blushing for a Crime?* (xix 125). It is evident that the BEP was formerly used with a wider range of verbs than in present-day vernacular, a feature which Bliss attributes to the influence from the Irish substratum (Bliss 1979:294).

Irish has, indeed, a parallel construction, which is similarly used with mutative verbs or verbs of motion, to use Bliss's (1979) term. As Ó Sé (1992:41) notes, there are some dialectal differences, though: what Ó Sé terms 'intransitive perfect' (i.e. the Irish equivalent of the BEP) is lacking in the Ulster dialects but is a feature of both Munster and Connacht Irish. It consists of *tá* followed by the past participle, illustrated by Ó Sé (1992:46) as follows:

(85) Tá sé imithe.
'Is he/it gone.'

Ó Sé further notes the formal parallelism between Irish, English, French, and German constructions but emphasises the variable semantics of the intransitive perfect in Munster Irish. In (85), for instance, it can focus on the absent state of the subject, a reading which can be enhanced by an adverbial, as in (86), but the construction can in other contexts achieve a more dynamic or resultative force, witness (87) (both examples are from Ó Sé 1992:49):

(86) Tá sé imithe le seachtain.
'He is gone a week.'

(87) Tá sé imithe abhaile.
'He has gone home.'

The range of meanings of the Munster Irish intransitive perfect corresponds very closely with the HE BEPs recorded from Kerry and Clare. It must be noted, however, that there is some disagreement among Irish scholars on the question of the exact meanings conveyed by the constructions described above, and hence on their grammatical status. For example, Ó Siadhail (1989:299–300) discusses these under the heading of 'the passive perfect aspect'. The dating of their emergence in Irish has also given rise to some controversies; these have mainly revolved around some of the views expressed by Greene in his seminal 1979 article on Irish perfects (see Ó Sé 1992 for further discussion).

The existence of an Irish parallel does not of course suffice to show that transfer should have taken place, unless there are some other factors, qualitative or quantitative, which could be used to confirm the Irish influence. In this case, the other 'Celtic Englishes' do not help us very far either, except in a very indirect way: the BEP does not appear to feature in any prominent way in either HebE or WE. There is no mention of it in Sabban's (1982) study, and I found only one instance in my HebE database:

(88) Well that township *is broken up* into holdings years and years ago.
(SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

The literature on WE does not contain any reference to the uses of the

BEP either.[24] The low profile of the BEP in these varieties is not totally unexpected in view of the fact that both Scottish Gaelic and Welsh lack perfects based on the past participle (as in Irish), and instead use the pattern preposition + verbal noun (Ó Sé 1992:42; see also Gillies 1993:187, 203; Watkins 1993:326). Matters are further complicated by the mentioned widespread nature of the intransitive perfect across western European languages, including Germanic and Romance languages. It is indeed possible that this type of perfect belongs to a set of features which are shared by a kind of a western European *Sprachbund,* i.e. a 'language federation' or 'convergence area' (cf. the discussion in section 5.2 of a similar possibility with respect to article usage, though with a different geographical distribution). In that case its presence in HE, too, would be a perfectly natural and predictable development, and the question of the origins of this type of perfect would have to be seen from a totally different perspective.

In conclusion, there appear to be some regional differences between HE dialects which suggest a certain role for the Irish substratum. However, despite the more dynamic and resultative uses attested in the (south)western dialects, it is hard to pin down qualitative features which would point to an exclusively Irish source for HE BEPs. Most of the examples cited from either earlier or present-day HE can be shown to have parallels in EModE and also later stages of EngE, although they appear to be rare in present-day regional dialects. For these reasons, the balance of probability must in this case be seen in favour of the superstratal source, despite the strong presence 'on the scene' of a substratal model. Yet reinforcing influence from Irish has been more than likely, which is shown most notably by the greatest productivity of the construction in the (south)western HE dialects.

6.2.5 The 'extended-now' perfect (ENP)

As will be remembered, the ENP is here considered one type of perfect despite the present tense form, which in StE normally refers to present time. The ENP is a peculiarly HE feature, so much so that speakers of other dialects often have difficulties in understanding the type of time reference involved (see, e.g. Harris's (1982) report on such problems). Below are some typical examples of ENPs from the HE corpus, illustrating the different formal types:

(89) I'*m not* in this [caravan] long […] Only *have* this here a few year. (Wicklow: D.M.)
'I haven't been…have had this here for a few years.'

(90) And = they'*re fighting* out ten years in the North for an all-Ireland republic. (Kerry: M.McG.)
'…they have been fighting…'

(91) I *didn't hear* him playin' with years an' years. Maybe he isn't able to

play at all now. (Clare: C.O'B.)
'I haven't heard him playing for years and years…'

(92) Hugh Curtin *is buried* with years, but his grandchildren are there now. (Clare: C.O'B.)
'H.C. has been buried for years,…'

Characteristic features of ENPs include: (i) reference to a state, event, or activity which has been initiated in the past and which leads up to the moment of utterance (or to some other point of time-orientation in the past in those cases where the past tense is used); (ii) obligatory presence of a time adverbial expressing duration (cf. the indefinite-anterior perfect, which is typically accompanied by a frequency or time-point adverbial); (iii) use of the present or past tense, including the corresponding progressive and passive forms, as in (90) and (92), respectively. Kallen (1989) lists very similar criteria for what he calls the 'extended present' perfect. In my HE corpus, the occurrences of the formal types were fairly evenly distributed between the present and past tense forms (see also Filppula 1997c). This is in some contrast with Kallen's (1989) observation, according to which the present tense is strongly favoured over the past.[25]

The type of meaning conveyed by the ENP has in the literature on English perfects been described by numerous labels. Brinton's (1988:11) survey includes terms like 'inclusive past-and-present' (Jespersen 1924:271–72), 'continuative perfect' (Kruisinga 1931:391; Bauer 1970:189), 'universal perfect' (McCawley 1971:104), and 'perfect of persistent situation' (Comrie 1976:60). Brinton's example sentences are: *We have known him since he was a child* and *He has sung in the choir for years* (Brinton 1988:10).

The origins of the ENP in HE dialects are again a vexed question because of the existence of both superstratal and substratal parallels. The use of the present tense to denote perfect aspect in EModE (and earlier) has been established in several studies, but somewhat surprisingly, there are conflicting views on its frequency of use in the EModE period. For instance, Visser (1963– 73:737) writes that the present was 'formerly rather frequently used' alongside the perfect with *have* + past participle. Visser does not specify what he means by 'formerly', but his examples make it clear that he is mainly referring to the (late) ME and EModE periods. He goes on to argue that it was in the course of the nineteenth century that the *have* + past participle construction started to predominate and gradually ousted the present tense form from this function, except in HE, which he mentions as an example of modern dialects that still use the present tense as a perfect marker (Visser 1963–73:737). Jespersen comes to a very different conclusion: according to him, 'the present tense is not often found for the inclusive present time' [i.e. extended-now time] (Jespersen 1931, § 4.7(1)). He even suggests that the instance of the inclusive present he cites from the Authorised Version (Luke 15.29 *Loe, these many yeeres do I serue*

thee) is a 'direct imitation of the foreign idiom' (ibid.). He mentions, though, certain idiomatic expressions in which the present tense may be found for the inclusive present. These include *is gone, long over,* and *dead,* as in the following examples cited by him (Jespersen 1931, § 4.7(3)):

(93) Your little boy is a long time gone.

(94) The American Revolution was not long over.

(95) Her mother was hardly more than three months dead. (A.Trollope, *The Duke's Children;* cited in Jespersen 1931, § 4.7(3))

There remain some earlier English passive forms which at first glance look like ENPs, but which turn out on closer inspection to be resultative rather than extended-now perfects. These are constructions consisting of *is (am, are)* + past participle. According to Visser, they are 'frequently used when a present state is seen as the result of the action referred to by the verb, and this to such a degree that the notion of an activity in the past is lost sight of' (Visser 1963–73:740). Note, however, that none of his examples involves a durative adverbial, which is here considered to be one of the diagnostic features of the ENP. One of Visser's examples, given in (96) below, is a borderline case, but even there the adverbial does not specify the duration of the event or activity as an interval (cf. the list of the characteristic features of the ENP, as defined by Kallen 1989: 15), but rather refers to some unspecified point of time in the past. All the others are best classified as resultative perfects, illustrated below by (97):

(96) Our lots are shaped for us, and mine is ordained long ago. (Thackeray, *Pend. II,* XVI, 1849–50; cited in Visser 1963–73:740)

(97) þis ilk bok it es translate In to Inglis tong to rede. (*Cursor Mundi,* 13.. [i.e. 14th century—M.F.]; cited in Visser 1963–73:740)

In the field of HE studies, the (primarily) superstratal origin of the ENP has been advocated, e.g. by Harris (1984a). Having described the two possible sources of the various HE perfects, including the 'extended-now' type, he arrives at the following conclusions:

> In the light of the historical evidence briefly summarised here, we may conclude that, in the area of the grammar under discussion, only HE PI [i.e. the *after* perfect—M.F.] can be said to have its origins exclusively in Irish interference. The nonstandard distribution of the other forms vis-à-vis the standard perfect appears to reflect Early Modern English patterns. The effects of Irish interference on the

> latter can perhaps best be regarded as reinforcing and indirect ('preservative' in Weinreich's (1966) terminology) rather than exclusive and direct.
> (Harris 1984a:322–3)

Although Harris carefully avoids categorical judgment, it is evident that he considers superstratal origin to be the most plausible one for all HE perfects save the *after* perfect.

As with other perfects, I have here too tried to trace evidence of the use of ENPs in conservative BrE dialects. Only two tokens were found in the southwestern BrE corpus:

(98) Ah and then her got married and I *belong* to him ever since. (Sixpenny Handley, Dorset: C.T.; quoted from Wakelin 1986:170)

(99) Oh, old Benny? Oh, he's proper Hampshire; he've see—I think he *worked* for North ever—ever since he was a little nipper, Mr. North at Clanville. (Hatherdon, West Hampshire: C.H.D.; quoted from Wakelin 1986:210)

It is impossible to generalise from such limited data. Furthermore, the second example is ambiguous in its time reference (it could well refer to the 'definite past', in which case it would not be a perfect at all). My SED materials from the West Midlands and northern English dialects (including the Yorkshire corpus) did not contain any clear instances of the ENP. All in all, the difference between HE and conservative BrE dialects looks very obvious.

The case for the Irish substratal influence rests on the existence of a parallel construction in Irish with similar semantic and formal characteristics. Bliss (1984a) can be mentioned as an exponent of the substratum view. Comparing the tense and aspect systems of Irish and English, he notes that Irish lacks the perfect and pluperfect; he does not in fact make any direct claim concerning substratal influence on perfect marking in HE but this can be read from his statement, according to which 'Southern Hiberno-English has precisely the same range of tenses as Irish has, but the forms are built up out of English material' (Bliss 1984a:143).

Bliss's account does not, however, suffice to eliminate the possibility that Irish has exercised only reinforcing and selective influence on the HE ENP rather than providing a direct input to it. Other evidence is needed if we are to conclude that the role of Irish has been more direct than what is granted by the retentionist stand. In the following I will discuss two more types of evidence which, I believe, have some bearing on the issue at hand: regional differentiation between the HE dialects and parallel constructions in HebE.

Table 6.7 shows the absolute and relative frequencies of ENPs in the four HE dialects investigated. The absolute frequencies are slightly higher than those of the *be* perfects and about twice as high as those of the medial-object perfects. The relative frequencies give some indication of a general divide between the

Table 6.7 Frequencies of 'extended-now' perfects in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	23	7.7
Kerry (44,000)	24	5.5
Wicklow (42,000)	17	4.0
Dublin (42,000)	17	4.0
HE total (158,000)	81	5.1

East and the West, although there is a noticeable difference even between the two western dialects. What is also noteworthy is the relatively high rate of incidence in Dublin speech, which bears witness to the well-established nature of this feature in HE vernacular. That there is some kind of a dialect continuum here, too, is revealed by some co-occurrence phenomena. A special feature of the (south)western dialects appears to be the use of the preposition *with* to introduce the durative adverbial, not in its usual instrumental sense but in a temporal one. Consider, e.g. (100) and (101) (see also (91) and (92) above):

(100) He's working over there, in some building he *is working with a couple o' weeks*. (Kerry: J.F.)
'...has been working for a couple of weeks.'

(101) He was the chief of the police, he, oh, he'*s* dead *with long,* [...] (Kerry: D.B.)
'...has been dead for a long time.'[26]

Similar examples were also found in some of the nineteenth-century letters, which is a further indication of the established nature of this pattern in HE, including its earlier stages. The following example is from a letter written by an Irish emigrant to Australia, originally from Co. Galway in the West of Ireland:

(102) My brother Patt *is* out the Bush *with the last 14 Mounths*. (*The Burke Letters,* No. 3, 1884; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:156)

Ó hÚrdail (1997:188) cites examples of temporal *with* from Cork City and Limerick, comparing them with the corresponding Irish usage involving the preposition *le*. It is true that the Irish preposition *le* is used in exactly similar contexts, witness the following example from Ó Sé (1992:55):

(103) Táim anseo le bliain.
'I have been here for a year.'

The HE uses of *with* are clearly a result of transfer, which can be explained by the fact that the Irish preposition *le* has both temporal and instrumental meanings and is therefore liable to be rendered by *with* in the English of Irish-speakers. Substratal influence is also confirmed by the regional distribution: ENPs accompanied by *with* occurred only in the two (south)western dialects, where tokens were recorded from five out of the eleven informants. Again, this strongly suggests Irish influence, which appears to persist in 'linguistic border areas' like the localities of Clare and Kerry investigated here (cf. Odlin 1992 on the relevance of linguistic border areas to issues of contact-induced change). What is more, the same regional distribution emerges if we consider all uses of temporal *with,* including contexts other than the ENP. The results of this inquiry are shown in Table 6.8.

Another piece of evidence supporting the existence of a dialect continuum is the distribution between the ENPs and the standard *have* perfects. For instance, with copular and existential *be* the ENP appeared to be the only choice for speakers in the west of Ireland, whereas their counterparts in the east sometimes, though not at all often, 'slipped' into using the standard perfect.

Let us finally turn to the evidence obtainable from HebE. Sabban's description of the tense and aspect system of HebE includes the use of the present or past tense for what she describes as 'Beschreibung von in der Gegenwart fortbestehenden Situationen' (Sabban 1982:99).[27] This corresponds exactly to the HE ENP, as can be seen from Sabban's examples in (104)–(106). Example (107) is from my HebE database.

(104) I *lead* the prayers in the church for the last forty years. (51.399; cited in Sabban 1982:59)

(105) And they *are* fourteen or fifteen years married now. (64.I.398; cited in Sabban 1982:59)

(106) I *was smoking* all my life. I *was smoking* since I was—started going to school. (60.8f; cited in Sabban 1982:62)

Table 6.8 Frequencies of the temporal uses of *with* in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	8	2.7
Kerry (44,000)	21	4.8
Wicklow (42,000)	2	0.5
Dublin (42,000)	1	0.2
HE total (158,000)	32	2.0

(107) And the building was never touched, it'*s* like that since I remember.
(SA 1970/93/A/Tiree: D.S.)

In discussing the origins of this usage, Sabban first notes the existence of parallel constructions in Scottish Gaelic, 'Anglo-Irish' and earlier stages of English. In her view, the first two constitute obvious factors speaking for the substratum account. In assessing the possible role of the EModE superstratum, she relies mainly on the findings of Fridén (1948) and Jespersen (see the quotation above). On the basis of these she concludes that, although the present (or past) tense was sporadically used in Middle and Early Modern English to denote a 'persistent situation', it played there 'nur eine sehr marginale Rolle', as the present *have* perfect was already well-established at that stage (Sabban 1982: 110). For these reasons, Sabban considers an explanation in terms of Gaelic influence 'sehr wahrscheinlich' (ibid.: 111).

To conclude, a strong case can be made for direct Irish influence on HE ENPs despite the existence of a superstratal parallel. ENPs are more frequently used in the areas adjoining the Gaeltachtaí than in the east, and they are very closely modelled on the corresponding Irish usage, including often the presence of a durative adverbial calqued on the Irish expression. Furthermore, they have a clear parallel in another Celtic-influenced variety of English. On the superstratal side, there is some evidence of a similar perfect having been used in EModE, but it appears to have been a rather peripheral feature at that stage. On the basis of my conservative BrE data, it has become even more peripheral in present-day dialectal English.

6.2.6 Conclusion: the 'standard' have *perfect versus the other perfects*

I conclude this section by looking at the relationship between the 'standard' *have* perfect and the other types of perfects discussed in the previous subsections. It has already become evident that there is no simple division of labour between the different categories, and the very status of especially the 'standard' *have* perfect in HE grammar and its system(s) of perfects is all but clear. Traditionally, the 'standard' *have* perfect has been accorded a very marginal position *vis-à-vis* the other forms. Some writers have even argued that the standard perfect does not exist in HE, including its 'educated' varieties (Milroy 1987:162–3). Others have tacitly adopted the same stand by excluding the standard perfect from their descriptions of the HE system of perfects (Henry 1957; Bliss 1984a; Harris 1984a). Kallen (1990) is perhaps the first to challenge the 'received view' and to explicitly discuss the problem of variation between the standard perfect and the other devices used by speakers of HE. His findings in this respect point to the existence of a number of factors which govern the choice of the perfect form; these include not only linguistic (lexical, syntactic, semantic) but also social and pragmatic considerations. Thus, the *after* perfect, for example,

is favoured with certain types of verbs such as *get, be* (either copula or auxiliary uses), *take,* and *come* in situations which are very informal and within the sphere of family life or between close friends. The standard form, on the other hand, is more likely to be used in formal encounters involving other than everyday vocabulary (Kallen 1990 and 1991).

I have in the previous sections tried to capture some of the most obvious patterns of variation in my HE corpus wherever that seemed to be feasible. As noted above, one has to be aware of the dangers of too direct comparisons between the standard perfect and the other perfects: it is possible, and in some cases evident, that they represent distinct aspectual or other semantic choices for speakers of HE and do not necessarily represent variants of the same 'linguistic variable'. Bearing these reservations in mind, I will next briefly summarise some general tendencies which emerged in the discussion above. These may be compared with Harris's statistics on the variation between the StE perfect and nonstandard forms in northern HE, as reported in Harris (1984a).[28]

The standard perfect appears to be particularly little used in the case of indefinite anterior time reference; the preterite is almost universal and relatively unaffected by lexical or other considerations (of course, social and discoursal factors could not be systematically investigated in this type of study). The extended-now type of reference is another clear area dominated by nonstandard forms. Here it is either the present or past tense form which occurs in the vast majority of the contexts involving a durative time expression, especially in the (south)western HE dialects. In the east, the standard perfect has gained some, albeit so far very small, foothold. A third area in which the standard perfect appears to be a clear minority choice is the 'hot-news' or 'recent event' context. This is the realm of the *after* perfect. No statistics were given to substantiate this in the discussion above, as it would be hard to pin down all those constructions which could be used instead of the AFP (cf. Kallen's study of the linguistic, social and discoursal factors governing the choice of the *after* perfect, reported in Kallen 1991). Let it suffice to mention that in the whole of the HE corpus, there was only one instance where a standard perfect was accompanied by *just* in an apparently 'hot-news' context. But there were a few cases where the past progressive form was used with *just* in much the same sense, for example:

(108) I *was just reading* it on the paper here. (Wicklow: J.N.)

The remaining two types of perfect, i.e. the medial-object perfect and the *be* perfect, express temporal and aspectual meanings which are perhaps better amenable to a variationist study. As regards the former, a clear differentiation emerged between the (south)western and the eastern HE dialects in the uses of the MOP *vis-à-vis* the standard *have* perfect. This suggests that the standard pattern is gradually encroaching on the territory of the MOP even in the (south)western dialects (in the east it already has a solid majority in contexts

involving an object), and this is an indication of at least some degree of semantic equivalence between the two forms (or of such development). The relationship between *be* and *have* perfects is even clearer from the semantic point of view, although here the differences between the HE dialects remain less noticeable, probably because of the severe lexical restrictions on the BEP.

6.3 Periphrastic *do* in Hiberno-English dialects

Periphrastic *do* in its various realisations constitutes an area which, although it differentiates HE from most other dialects of English, displays interesting similarities with especially the southwestern BrE dialects and certain dialects of WE. The term 'periphrastic' is used here in a somewhat wider sense than usual to refer to those instances of *do* where it is an unstressed auxiliary, yet distinct from the 'operator' *do* of so-called *do*-support (appearing, e.g. in interrogative structures) and also separate from 'emphatic' *do* which is always stressed (cf. Ihalainen 1976:608; Klemola 1994:33). A lot has been written on the meaning(s), or rather, lack of meaning, of periphrastic *do* especially in earlier English (see, e.g. Ellegård 1953; Mustanoja 1960; Denison 1993), but at this stage I am satisfied with the mentioned formal criteria which suffice to distinguish between the periphrastic uses of *do* and its other functions.

In the following I will first survey the different forms, functions, and frequencies of periphrastic *do,* as it was used in the HE corpus. A closely related construction involving uninflected *be* will also be commented on in the light of the corpus data. Next, I will tackle the vexed question of the genesis of HE periphrastic *do*. This time, all three major sources—substratum, superstratum, and universals—offer themselves as plausible candidates, without forgetting the possibility of multiple causation.

6.3.1 Forms, functions and frequencies of periphrastic do *in HE*

The following examples from the HE corpus illustrate the main structural patterns of periphrastic *do* in the dialects investigated:

(109) Two lorries of them [i.e. turf] now in the year we *do burn*. (Kerry: M.C.)

(110) And err, when I *do be listen'* to the Irish here, I *do be* sorry now, when you're in a local having a drink, nobody seems to understand it. (Dublin: P.T.)

(111) They *does be* lonesome by night, the priest does, surely. (Clare: M.R.)

(112) Well, it's generally cut, but sometimes it gets, it *doesn't be* = up to the mark, don't you know, it'd be bad, like oats, if you met a bad year, = to get it right. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(113) 'And do = do you leave 'em [fairies] food,' he sez to her, 'durin' the night?' 'We do,' she sez. 'And *does* it *be eaten* in the mornin'?' (Clare: M.R.)

(114) Whether it is = Lutherarians or = Protestant or Catholics, live up to it. = *Don't be guessing,* = or *don't be doubting.* (Kerry: M.C.)

As the above examples show, periphrastic *do/does* may be followed by the main verb (abbreviated below as *do/does* + V), the copula *be (do/does be),* or the expanded form (*do/does be* + V-*ing*). Furthermore, negative (NEG), interrogative (QUE), and imperative (IMP) forms followed by *be* occur as is shown by the last three examples, respectively. Uninflected *be* will be discussed further below.

With the exception of the imperative form, all of the patterns illustrated above have generally been considered to convey what has been rather variably termed consuetudinal, iterative, or habitual and/or generic aspect.[29] Indeed, the existence of a host of terms, often with very subtle subdistinctions, is but one sign of the multifaceted nature of the issue. Henry (1957:168–9) refers to iterative, iterative durative and frequentative durative states of affairs; Bliss (1972:76) speaks of the consuetudinal auxiliary *do,* while Harris (1986:176) draws a distinction between habitual *be/be's* or unstressed *do/does* plus *be,* and, for patterns involving verbs other than *be,* iterative perfective (*do/does* + V) and iterative imperfective (*do/does be* + V-*ing*). To these can be added the notion of generic truths, which Kallen (1989) subsumes under the heading of generic/habitual states of affairs. According to Kallen, the generic/habitual marker *do*

> establishes a a temporal frame (F) such that the state of affairs designated holds true either as an inherent quality of a class of objects or due to the recurrence of particular actions, processes, etc.
>
> (Kallen 1989:4)

This may be compared with Comrie's definition of habituality:

> The feature that is common to all habituals, whether or not they are also iterative, is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.
>
> (Comrie 1976:27–8)

Iterativity, according to Comrie, is not a necessary property of habituality, although it may be involved; contrast *the Temple of Diana used to stand at Ephesus* with *the policeman used to stand at the corner for two hours each day.* The former represents an activity or state which 'can be protracted indefinitely in time',

whereas the latter does not allow that interpretation. Nonetheless, both describe a characteristic, i.e. habitual, situation (Comrie 1976:28).

I am inclined to follow Comrie and treat habituality as the most general concept, which subsumes iterative, frequentative, and generic states or activities under the common heading of habitual aspect. This is not to deny the importance of differentiating between the various sub-meanings whenever that is relevant, but for the present purposes it is sufficient to state that periphrastic *do* is normally used in HE to mark habitual aspect ('normally' because there are some exceptions which will be discussed below). It should, however, be noted that the mentioned patterns involving *do* are not the only devices used by HE speakers for the expression of habitual aspect. Other means such as the simple present-tense form accompanied by an adverbial are also used, and for habitual activities in the past *'d* (i.e. the contracted form of *would*) and *used (to)* are the usual means of expression. Nevertheless, I will here focus on periphrastic *do,* because it is one of the hallmarks of HE dialects and possibly derives from the Irish substratum.

I will next turn to a quantitative survey of the uses of periphrastic *do* in the HE corpus. Table 6.9 provides the frequencies of the different patterns involving periphrastic *do* in its various present tense forms (the past tense form will be discussed further below).

Table 6.9 shows that the majority of the occurrences were, somewhat surprisingly, of the 'simple' *do/does* + V type (21 tokens), the next most frequent pattern being *do/does* + *be* (10 tokens). It is worth mentioning that in Kallen's (1989) study, the frequencies of these two patterns were almost exactly the other way round, but with respect to the other structures our findings are very similar. That the type *do/does be* + V-*ing* occurred only three times in my corpus (the same number in Kallen's corpus) must be considered one of the most striking results. As Kallen (1989:7) points out, this pattern has often been regarded as one of the HE 'classics', yet on the basis of both his and my data it appears to be rare enough in actual usage. The negative and imperative forms (*don't/ doesn't be* and *don't be* V-*ing*) were only slightly more frequent with their 7 and 5 tokens, respectively. There were 15 negative items in Kallen's corpus; he also

Table 6.9 Frequencies of periphrastic *do* in the HE corpus

Area	*Do + V*	*Do be*	*Do be V-ing*	*NEG*	*QUE*	*IMP*	*Other*	N	N/*10,000*
Clare	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	2	0.7
Kerry	11	1	–	1	–	2	–	15	3.4
Wicklow	8	6	2	5	–	2	1	24	5.7
Dublin	2	2	1	1	–	1	–	7	1.7
HE total	21	10	3	7	1	5	1	48	3.0

Note: *NEG* = negative; *QUE* = interrogative; *IMP* = imperative.

gives examples of imperative forms but does not specify their number (Kallen 1989:5–6). Interrogative *do*-forms were extremely rare in my corpus, which may be due to the nature of the interview setting, but their existence in HE vernacular is confirmed by other studies (see, e.g. Harris 1986:177; Corrigan 1997b:177).[30] Note, however, that Kallen (1989) does not give any examples of interrogatives, although his 'participant-observation' method could have here been expected to supplement the type of data furnished by my corpus. Finally, to complete this survey of the occurrences of periphrastic *do* in my HE corpus, I should mention the solitary instance of a structure, subsumed under the heading 'other' in Table 6.9, where *does* was followed directly by the past participle *been:*

(115) Yeah, err, used to be [races in the locality], but not now. There *does been* races down in Newcastle. (Wicklow: J.F.)[31]

An examination of the regional breakdown of the figures in Table 6.9 reveals that, considering the overall relative frequencies, Wicklow (and Kerry to a slightly less extent) stands out as the area in which periphrastic *do* in its various forms is best represented. At least from the point of view of the substratum hypothesis it comes as a slight surprise that habitual *do/does be* should score its highest rate of occurrence in Wicklow (6 tokens), whereas there was only one instance each in Clare and Kerry, and two in Dublin. The *do/does* + V pattern was most frequent in Kerry (11) and Wicklow (8) but, surprisingly, no single instance was recorded in Clare; the Dublin corpus contained two tokens. I will return to the possible significance of the regional differences below.

On the basis of previous works, the preterite form *did* should not occur at all in HE as a periphrastic auxiliary. Thus, Bliss writes:

> I know of no certain instance of the use of the consuetudinal auxiliary in the past tense; there are, indeed, instances in the writings of George A.Birmingham, but his representation of Hiberno-English usage is by no means invariably reliable.
>
> (Bliss 1972:80)

Other writers on HE seem to concur with this. For example, Harris (1986:175) states that the category of past habitual is realised in HE by general English *used to* plus infinitive or by its nonstandard variant without *to*. Kallen's (1989) database appears to consist of present-tense occurrences only. By contrast, my HE corpus contained a few instances of periphrastic *did,* which, though small in number, were rather evenly spread between all four areas: 2 each in Clare and Kerry, 4 in Wicklow, and 2 in Dublin (*N*=10). It is true that not all of them were habitual in meaning, but some clear examples were found:

(116) [How long did it take then [to walk to Caherciveen]?] My God, I

couldn't say = how long it took me to walk it or = but I often *did cycle* to Caherciveen fair mornings in ju' = in just two hours. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(117) And More and Browns ownded it [a place in Luggala, Co. Wicklow]. Guinnesses *did own* it one time. They sold it to Lord {Avonmore?}. (Wicklow: D.M.)

(118) Gibson and Bailey, see, were the people that opened it up [a dockyard in Ringsend, Dublin]. […] But unfortunately, it didn't last very long. Several years, at the best of my knowledge. They *did build* = a few what we call as coal-boats or colliers. (Dublin: L.F.)

In all of these, the auxiliary is stressless and clearly conveys the type of habitual meaning described in Comrie's definition above, i.e. reference is made to a characteristic feature of a whole period. Besides the habitual type, there were a few occurrences which clearly involved reference to some specific event or state of affairs. This category is exemplified by the following tokens from Clare, Wicklow, and Dublin:

(119) And if you're ever around between the, the tower of Moher and Hags Head, I believe the fresh = you can see in the old stone wall the fresh knocking where they *did bring in* the horse. (Clare: F.K.)

(120) And I heard Ned saying the last litter she had there, well, that was only last spring, not coming in the winter there, and he said he seen some of the pups. They *did trot down* there the other day. Said: Great, great pups, working = at the sheep. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(121) Now, there is one character = youse *did* = *relate* there in the circular Historical characters. (Dublin: P.L.)[32]

In these, the function of *did* appears to be one of merely marking the tense rather than adding anything to the aspectual meaning of the verb phrase. As such, they constitute counterevidence to Henry's (1957:171) claim, according to which '[t]he meaningless, periphrastic *do* of Shakespearian E. […] does not occur in our dialect'. Henry does mention, however, the past tense use of *did* (along with *do*) in one particular context, namely when it is preceded by introductory *there,* as in (122) below (for similar examples recorded from Kilkenny dialect, see Moylan 1996:367–8). In my view, this is one type of periphrasis, too, and may be compared with two similar ones found in my Clare corpus:

(122) There *did* a man *come* 'a man came'. (Henry 1957:202)

(123) And there *did* a man *land.* (Clare: C.O'B.)

(124) But there *did* a bigger event *happen* above in Lickeen […] (Clare: C. O'B.)

As was mentioned above, the dialectal distribution of periphrastic *did* was fairly even, but since the overall numbers of both habitual (6 tokens in the whole corpus) and specific instances of *did* (4 tokens) were very small, interdialectal comparisons are meaningless. Let it suffice to mention that Clare again stood out from the rest in that the two tokens recorded from there both occurred in utterances introduced by *there.*

Apart from the habitual and tense-marking uses of *did,* the corpus contained a large number of instances in which *did,* and to a somewhat less extent, *do,* were used as a means of emphasis as in other varieties of English. Henry (1957: 171), too, notes the emphatic use of *do* in the dialect of Roscommon, although he adds that it 'is more restricted in our dialect than in Shakespearian or Mod. E.'. In my HE corpus, the emphatic instances of both *do* and *did* were most frequent in Wicklow; Dublin came next, while the two (south)western dialects scored the smallest numbers of tokens. The east-west divide matches the expectation set by Henry's findings on the Roscommon dialect, which must from the point of view of its grammar be considered very similar to the (south)western HE dialects investigated here.

In earlier studies of HE, another marker of habitual aspect, closely related to periphrastic *do,* is often mentioned, namely *be/bees,* which is said to be characteristic of the northern dialects of HE (Bliss 1972:80; Bliss 1984a:143; Guilfoyle 1983:24). Kallen (1989:4) reports no instances of what he terms 'inflected *be*' in his database which was mainly collected from Dublin. Theoretically, the negative and interrogative forms involving *do* (exemplified by (112) and (113) above) could be interpreted as deriving from habitual *be* via *do*-support, a possibility which is suggested by Harris (1986:177) but which seems difficult to corroborate. Apart from these forms, my HE corpus contained several occurrences of *be* (but no *bees*) as the predicate verb, but very few of these can be considered full-fledged instances of habitual *be*. The following examples serve to illustrate the best candidates for habitual *be:*

(125) […] there is such thing, when they'd be goin' sayin' the crops = when they *be sowing* the crops they'd put the holy water an' a few burned coals = burned coals on top of the seed they'd be sowin'. (Clare: M.R.)

(126) […] two dogs that every each had, you know. […] The others be all in the lead. *Be* murders if those dogs got out. (Wicklow: D.M.)

(127) [Do all people watch these football matches here?] Ah, they do, a

lot of them. A lot of them *be* interested in football matches. (Wicklow: J.N.)

There were some ten occurrences of this type in the whole HE corpus. While they seem to be clear instances of habitual *be,* with overtly expressed subjects, there was a larger number of others which present difficulties of delimitation. Consider, for example, the following:

(128) […] and they [foxes] hid, *be lying* there, and then they'll take it [a lamb]. (Wicklow: C.C.)

(129) But you were in danger of getting shot, if you went out at night and al' =, along the public roads. *Be* all right, stop in, they wouldn't molest you. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(130) The likens of me wouldn't go there, err, err, no interest in going there, see, *be* no good to me to learn Irish, was it? (Kerry: J.F.)

It seems hard to decide whether these are instances of habitual *be* or simply the result of ellipsis of the subject and, possibly, of the auxiliary *would* (or, rather, of its contracted form *'d*). What speaks against ellipsis of the auxiliary is the particularly frequent use of this kind of *be* in one dialect area, namely Wicklow. There were a few odd tokens in the other subcorpora as well, but *bes* of this type seemed to be best-established in Wicklow. Given that the Wicklow corpus contained a few clear instances of habitual *be* in its 'full' form (witness the two Wicklow examples quoted above), it would seem justified to interpret the 'truncated' instances of *bes* as belonging to the category of habitual *be*. Again, the implications of the interdialectal differences will be discussed further below.

6.3.2 The origins of HE periphrastic do

6.3.2.1 Substratum versus superstratum accounts

The question of the origins of the HE habitual aspect markers has intrigued writers from very early on, which in itself goes to show the distinctiveness of HE in this respect. A survey of the literature on this problem reveals a divide of opinion similar to the one observed in the case of HE perfects: while earlier research has by and large ascribed habitual *do* and *be/bees* to substratal influence (see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988; van Hamel 1912; Henry 1957; Bliss 1972; Sullivan 1976), there has been a clear shift of emphasis in the more recent works to the input from the EModE superstratum (see, especially, Harris 1986). Since Bliss (1972) and Harris (1986) can be considered the chief exponents of the substratum and superstratum accounts, respectively, I will briefly summarise

their main arguments and then try to approach the problem in the light of the evidence I have been able to gather.

For the HE patterns involving *be,* the obvious source according to Bliss is the so-called consuetudinal present of the early Modern Irish 'substantive' verb 'be', the 3rd person singular forms of which were *bídh* ('independent' form) and *bí* (dependent form, used, e.g. after certain particles and conjunctions). The existence in the verb paradigm of a special form reserved for habitual aspect suffices in itself, as Bliss's argument goes, to explain why the Irish learners of English should have carried over this feature into their English; the close phonetic resemblance between *bídh/bí* and English *be* would have been a further factor facilitating transfer and thus providing the basis for the adoption of *be/ bees* as a consuetudinal aspect marker in HE. The introduction of the pattern *do(es) be* could in turn be due to the superstratal model provided by periphrastic *do,* common enough in the EModE period. However, Bliss rejects this hypothesis because earlier English never used the auxiliary *do* with *be*. On the other hand, what remains unexplained in the transfer account is the HE extension of periphrastic *do* to verbs other than *be*. As Bliss notes, there was no parallel in Irish for the HE *do* + V pattern. Having considered alternative explanations, Bliss concludes that the most plausible account is one which is based on the existence in early Modern Irish of the so-called dependent form ending in *-(e)ann,* which was used for the present indicative of verbs. The dependent ending was first restricted to certain types of contexts, but during the seventeenth century it began to displace the independent form, a process which was completed by the mid-eighteenth century.[33] The crucial fact from the point of view of transfer, Bliss argues, is that the dependent form had a syntactic distribution very similar to the uses of the auxiliary *do* in English: those contexts which in English required *do* required the dependent ending in early Modern Irish, and vice versa, with some minor exceptions. Furthermore, in the Irish verb 'be' the ending *-(e)ann* was only found in the consuetudinal present *bídheann,* but significantly, not in the 'punctual present' *tá*. The contextual parallel between the Irish dependent ending and the EModE auxiliary *do* would not only explain the adoption of the latter in HE as a consuetudinal auxiliary, but also why it came to be confined to the present tense. (See Bliss 1972:75–81 and also 1979:292–3 for a detailed discussion.)

Harris (1986) takes issue with Bliss's argument by pointing out two potential flaws in it. First, he wants to contest the degree of parallelism between the early Modern Irish dependent ending and the EModE auxiliary *do*. The former was used in a number of contexts in which *do* was not required in English, e.g. after certain conjunctions and in relative structures introduced by the relative particle *a*. Secondly, Harris draws attention to the relatively unestablished nature of *do*-support in the EModE period, and especially, to its use in affirmative declarative sentences in a way similar to present-day HE usage. The fact that this usage is still well preserved in the southwestern dialects of English, which according to Harris contributed significantly to the formation of early HE,

leads him to emphasise the superstratal input at the expense of the substratal one. He does acknowledge, though, the role of the substratum (and possibly certain types of language universals) in explaining how the need for a grammaticalised category of habitual aspect arose in the emerging contact variety, but insofar as the selection of the forms is concerned, the model provided by periphrastic uses of *do* in the superstratal varieties was decisive, with the substratum playing a merely reinforcing role. The superstratum account would furthermore, as Harris argues, explain the presence in various 'Atlantic contact Englishes' of similar habitual markers, including also the *be/bees* forms (the latter transcribed as *be's* by Harris). These have a parallel in Early Modern Scots, which in this respect preserves the OE distinction between *beo-* and *wes-,* the former being the verb used for predictive and habitual meanings. From Scots they could well have diffused into northern HE and then travelled further from there into various Atlantic contact varieties with the early emigrants. This is a possibility suggested in Traugott (1972) and Rickford (1986), as Harris points out (Harris 1986:187).

The superstratum account is not without its problems, though. One is the lack of evidence of periphrastic *do* in early HE texts. As Bliss (1979:293) notes, the consuetudinal construction involving *do (be)* does not appear until after 1700. The first—and only—instances in his collection of seventeeth- and eighteenth-century texts are found in John Michelburne's *Ireland Preserved,* which dates from 1705. The text abounds in various kinds of uses of periphrastic *do,* including non-habitual, specific ones, as in (131). On the other hand, there are several clear examples of habitual *do* + V, as in (132), and what is of special interest here, the pattern *do be* also makes its first appearance in this text, witness (133):

(131) […] the Micharr of a Trooparr, did make Force my Fadders House, and did taake de Fafteen fair white Egg […]; he did bate my Wife, and did trow her down stairs, […] (John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved* (1705); quoted from Bliss 1979:144)

(132) […] I do let de Trooparr ly wid my Wife in de bad, he does ly at de one side, and my self ly at de toder side, and my wife do lye in de middle side; […] (John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved* (1705); quoted from Bliss 1979:145)

(133) […] you do be mauke de rauvish upon de young Womans. (John Michelburne, *Ireland Preserved* (1705); quoted from Bliss 1979:147)

Unfortunately, Bliss's texts do not provide any further evidence of the use of especially the *do be* structure, which makes the dating of its emergence rather difficult (for similar reservations, see Kallen 1986:139). Neither have I been able to find any trace of *do be's* in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts and other early HE texts I have investigated. In fact, the first

instances in the manuscript sources were found no earlier than in private letters dating from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, but they contain the whole repertoire of the different structures discussed above except the interrogative structure and the forms *be/bees*. Consider, first, the following extract from a letter written in 1861 by Nancy and Bridget Oldham from Rossmore, Co. Cork, to the former's son in America:

(134) My Dear son I am unwell in my health this length of time if I *do be* one day up I *do be* two days lying down and I never wrote that to any of ye in any of your letters. (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 19, 1861; TCD MS 10,435/19)

Good examples of the *do be* + V-*ing* pattern occur in another letter sent by the same people, cited in (135), as well as in a letter written around 1900 by an Irish emigrant to New Zealand, given in (136):

(135) I *do be disputing* with my mother sometimes that I'll go to America and my mother gets angry with me for saying that I would go […] (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 15, 1857; TCD MS 10,435/15)[34]

(136) If the.farmers.in Ireland.were at the.port in.Wellington.to see.a ship getting loaded.with.frozen.meat.it.would.open their.eyes.they *do be.loading*.meat on it from.eight.in the.morning till ten at night […] (*The Green Papers,* No. 2, ca. 1900; National Library of Ireland MS 11,428)

The following extract from the *Oldham Papers* is particularly rich in periphrastic *do:* besides the imperative form, it contains a couple of *do* + V forms and yet another example of *does be*. All can be said to be habitual in function, including even the imperative form:

(137) My Dear son *do not be troubling* yourself about John any more […] My Dear son when I *do get* your letter, all the neighbours *do run* to see what account *does be* in it, […] (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 20, 1861; TCD MS 10,435/20)

Finally, there was an occurrence of a negative structure, again in the *Oldham Papers,* which could also be considered to belong to the category of periphrastic *do* (cf. the HE corpus example in (112) above):

(138) My Dear son you spoke of what month of the [*year* missing?] you would send money whatever part of the year you please to send it I will take I *do not be* empty any time I *do have* it from time to time always […] (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 18, 1859; TCD MS 10,435/18)

The apparently late emergence of habitual *do* and *do be* structures is perhaps not so surprising given that various other distinctively HE constructions are also attested relatively late (recall the discussion of some of the perfect forms above). Similarly, Montgomery (1995) has shown that in a collection of emigrant letters written in the period 1736–1871 the first tokens of habitual *be, bes,* and *does be* do not occur until the 1860s. Although these letters were written by people originating in the northern counties of Ireland, they provide important evidence from the point of view of the dating of the formative period of HE dialects.[35]

Although the relatively recent appearance of the various *do(es) (be)* constructions in HE dialects (if we accept the evidence so far available) weakens the plausibility of the superstratum account, it need not prove altogether fatal for it: one can here point to the fairly recent attestation of periphrastic *do* in Standard English, and especially, in conservative English dialects. Thus, Ihalainen (1976:609) states that periphrastic *do* was 'common in Standard English until the end of the eighteenth century', although it declined very rapidly afterwards. As a piece of contemporary evidence, Ihalainen cites Coote (1788), who labels it as archaic at that stage. Bliss (1972:76), relying on Wright (1905 § 435, Note) and on *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (*NED;* s.v. *do* *** and 25a), dates the obsolescence at a somewhat earlier period, though: according to him, periphrastic *do* 'became obsolete after about 1700 (apart from archaic and poetic uses), except in the southwestern dialects, where it survives as the normal form up to the present day'.

Bliss's dating must here be considered the more accurate one in the light of such standard works on the development of *do*-periphrasis as Ellegård (1953). Ellegård's longitudinal survey of the frequencies of periphrastic *do* in unemphatic affirmative declarative sentences shows that this construction reached its peak in the middle of the sixteenth century, after which it started to decline very rapidly and became quite rare by the early 1600s (Ellegård 1953: 159–63). This study is given further credibility by the fact that it was based on a large corpus of prose texts from the period 1390–1700. Nonetheless, it is interesting to compare his findings with those based on the somewhat more systematically structured Helsinki Corpus. Such a study has been undertaken by Matti Rissanen (1991), who arrives at a slightly different historical profile for periphrastic *do:* on the basis of the Helsinki Corpus data, the heyday of *do*-periphrasis in affirmative statements was the period 1570–1640, i.e. a little later than Ellegård's dating. After this period, Rissanen argues, periphrastic *do* underwent a rapid decline towards the end of the seventeenth century (Rissanen 1991:328). What may be of particular importance to the issue at hand are Rissanen's observations on the distribution of periphrastic *do* among different text types: on the basis of textual and discoursal considerations Rissanen is able to infer that the increased use of *do*-periphrasis in the sixteenth century most probably started in spoken language, where it was employed as a marked form motivated by discoursal factors, and it was at the same level that it then began its dramatic decline in

the following century. As one piece of evidence reflecting these developments Rissanen notes the significant drop in frequencies of use of periphrastic *do* in the records of trials (which can be considered to be closest to the spoken mode) as early as the period 1570–1640, whereas the pattern retained a relatively high frequency of use in official letters even in the last EModE period, i.e. between 1640–1710 (for further details, see Rissanen 1991:328–30).

Further light on the fortunes of periphrastic *do* is shed by Arja Nurmi's studies of the uses of *do,* based on the newly compiled *Corpus of Early English Correspondence,* which consists of personal (both private and non-private) letters written in the period 1500–1681 (see Nurmi 1996 and 1998 for details). On the whole, Nurmi's findings corroborate the early demise of periphrastic *do*. Thus, Nurmi (1998) shows that the frequency of periphrastic *do* in affirmative statements drops rather suddenly at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What is more, this change seems to have affected all but the oldest generations at around the same time and was possibly linked with the gradual rise of the BE + ING construction or the 'expanded form' (see Nurmi 1996 on the possible connection between these two constructions). As one of the external causes of the change Nurmi (1998), referring to Klemola's (1996) discussion, mentions the large-scale migrations of people from the North of England and Scotland to London. As is well known, periphrastic *do* never enjoyed the same position in the northern and Scottish dialects as in the southern ones (see Klemola 1996:164–75).

On the basis of the foregoing one has to conclude that periphrastic *do* was, or was rapidly becoming, archaic or even obsolete in the more standardised varieties of English, and especially in spoken language, by the time the most intensive period of language contact and shift began in Ireland (which in all likelihood was later than the seventeenth century). To survive this setback (the possibility of which has evidently not been sufficiently considered in the previous works), the superstratum account has to look to nonstandard and dialectal varieties of English for evidence of continued use of periphrastic *do.* And such evidence does, indeed, exist: as Ihalainen (1976:610) notes, periphrastic *do* is well documented for the southwestern dialects in the nineteenth century by Elworthy (1875). As for present-day dialects, Ihalainen's own study of East Somerset has confirmed the persisting use of periphrastic *do* there in a habitual function (see Ihalainen 1976 and also the sequel to this study reported in Ihalainen 1981), and this is of course one of the cornerstones of Harris's (1986) superstratal argument outlined above. Whereas Ihalainen's work focused on past tense occurrences only, Klemola (1994 and 1996) provides ample evidence of both the present and past tense uses of periphrastic *do* in the southwestern BrE dialects. This would seem to furnish the badly needed further grounds for arguing that the superstratal model was indeed available to the Irish learners of English in the formative period of HE, even if this was to be dated one hundred years or so later than is usually assumed.

What can also be taken to suggest a certain role for the dialectal EModE parallel is the geographical distribution and probable source area of periphrastic

do among English dialects. Klemola (1994 and 1996) has shown on the basis of the hitherto little used SED notebook data that the spread of periphrastic *do* is far wider than was assumed in some of the earlier works, e.g. Rogers (1979) and Wakelin (1977, 1983, 1984). Figure 6.2, devised by Klemola (here taken from Klemola 1996:45),[36] takes into account the SED notebook data and shows the 'revised' geographical spread of periphrastic *do*.

From the point of view of HE, it is also important to note that the area extends into the southern parts of Wales (see the discussion in section 6.3.2.3 below), and thus covers most of the southwestern areas which are *en route* to Ireland (see Filppula 1996 for a discussion of the early trade and other connections between the Southwest of England and Ireland). Furthermore, the shape of Klemola's revised isogloss reveals 'core' areas of periphrastic *do,* with East Somerset and West Wiltshire emerging as their centre. As Klemola (1996:40–1) points out, this supports the claim by Ellegård (1953:164) that this feature originated in the central and western parts of the South of England and diffused from there to the east and north. Although this evidence seems to vindicate the superstratal origin of periphrastic *do,* it does not suffice to eliminate the possibility of early English-Celtic contact as a source of periphrastic *do*. I will return to this in section 6.3.2.3.

Figure 6.2 'Revised' geographical distribution of periphrastic *do* on the basis of the SED fieldworker notebooks. *Source:* Klemola 1996:45

What remain unexplained by the superstratum account are some important formal differences between periphrastic *do,* as it is used in southwestern BrE dialects, on the one hand, and HE dialects, on the other. First, the structures *do(es) be* or *do(es) be* + V-*ing* do not occur in the southwestern dialects (Klemola 1996:68–9; see also Bliss 1972:76), nor in other BrE dialects (see, however, the discussion below). Second, the HE constructions are, according to most writers, restricted to the present tense (see Bliss 1972:80; Kallen 1989), just as their putative Irish parallels. Now, my HE corpus seems to cast some doubt on this generalisation (witness the habitual and specific instances of periphrastic *did* cited above), although the numerical evidence is not very strong. In any case, there is no question that periphrastic *do* in the southwestern dialects of English occurs in both the present and past tenses (Ihalainen 1976; Klemola 1994, 1996), with the notable exception of one area, namely West Cornwall (the possible implications of this will be discussed further below). Klemola (1996:67) mentions a third difference which has to do with subject—verb concord: in the southwestern BrE dialects *do* is always uninflected with third-person singular subjects, whereas it is inflected in the normal way in HE in that type of context.

Assuming that periphrastic *do* in HE dialects is, indeed, based on the superstratal source, one has to try to find some explanation(s) for the mentioned differences. For Harris, the first difference does not constitute a problem, as he accepts the evidence provided by Wright's *EDD* on the use of *do be* followed by the expanded form in certain southern dialects of English (Harris 1986:189). The reliability of Wright's evidence has, however, been questioned by Klemola (1996:68–9, Note), who points out that it consists of only four examples, which have been drawn from dialect literature (with one of the authors bearing an evidently Irish name), and not from local informants. Furthermore, Klemola (ibid.) notes the total lack of documentation of these patterns in ME and EModE texts and in the nineteenth-century and later dialect monographs. To these I could add that the SED materials I have investigated did not contain any trace of *do be* structures either. Taken together, these objections cast serious doubt on Wright's evidence. As regards the tense restriction on the HE constructions and the difference in the inflectional pattern, Harris (1986) does not consider them at all; instead, he is content to cite examples which show that the superstratal parallel had also non-past uses, something which does not become evident on the basis of Ihalainen's (1976) discussion of periphrastic *do* in East Somerset speech.

Before trying to draw my own conclusions, I want to return to the evidence obtainable from my HE corpus, from various 'universalist' accounts, and finally, from the other 'Celtic Englishes'. Unfortunately, the contribution of the HE corpus to the issues at hand remains rather small: as was noted above, no dialect continuum emerged which would confirm the role of the substratum in the same way as with many other features. On the contrary, the prominence of periphrastic *do* in Wicklow speech may indicate persisting influence from the EModE superstratum. The accumulation of occurrences in the Wicklow

corpus may at least partially be dependent on such factors as the age of the informants: the oldest informant, who was well into his eighties at the time of the recordings, contributed by far the greatest number of tokens of *do*. On the other hand, persons of his age were recorded in the other areas as well, yet they produced clearly smaller numbers of periphrastic *dos*. The scarcity of tokens in the Clare data, in particular, is puzzling: it is always possible that textual considerations account for some of the observed differences between Clare and Kerry, but even they do not help us very far, because the results from these two areas are similar in most other respects.

6.3.2.2 Universalist accounts

One of the first attempts at explaining the rise of the HE *do (be)* patterns in terms of universal principles is Guilfoyle (1983). Her analysis rests centrally on the so-called Transparency Principle, as it was first formulated by Lightfoot (1979). This principle, to use Guilfoyle's wording, requires that 'derivations be minimally complex, and that deep structures remain close to their surface structures' (Guilfoyle 1983:22). What this means in a second-language acquisition situation like the one in Ireland in the earlier centuries is that if the target-language grammar contains competing forms for the same meaning (such as *I see* and *I do see* in EModE, with *do* as a mere 'tense-carrier' in some varieties at least), it will constitute a violation of the Transparency Principle and lead to reanalysis on the part of learners. In the case at hand, the existence in early HE of rival forms, one involving the simple verb, the other(s) various periphrastic *do* patterns modelled on earlier English usage, violated this universal principle, and the conflict was eventually resolved by a reanalysis of the latter as a marker of habitual aspect. The development of the dependent form ending in *-(e)ann* in Irish during the same period may, according to Guilfoyle, have reinforced the choice of *do* as marker of habitual aspect in HE, but the universal principle provided the primary impetus (Guilfoyle 1983:30). It is of interest to note that Harris's superstratal account also leaves room for these kinds of universal factors in explaining the grammaticalisation of the habitual distinction in HE, although he argues—correctly, I believe—that they do not suffice to give a principled account of why particular *do* and *be* forms came to be selected (Harris 1986:181).

Kallen's studies (see especially Kallen 1986 and 1988) seek to account for the emergence of *do be*-forms in HE in terms of the ideas expounded within the framework of Functional Grammar. To begin with, he assumes, like Harris and Guilfoyle, that there was a superstratal model available to the Irish learners of English in the form of periphrastic *do* serving a variety of functions, including that of an aspectual marker of duration (which would be subsumed under my habitual category). Exposure to this kind of chequered 'primary data', together with the pre-existence in Irish of an overtly marked habitual aspect category, may then have triggered a process of reinterpretation, and narrowing down,

of periphrastic *do* as an aspectual marker of duration in the English of the Irish learners. Once *do* was established in HE usage as a 'non-lexical' (i.e. periphrastic) marker, it is easier, as Kallen argues, to explain its spread to structures involving even the verb *be:* in Kallen's words, 'the insertion of *do* simply adds the + durative feature to the state of affairs denoted by the main verb', and this practice could well have been extended to the verb *be* (Kallen 1986:144). The one remaining problem is the association of *do be* with the *-ing* form of verbs. Here Kallen's explanation rests on the allegedly free variation in early HE between the simple inflected form of the verb and the imperfective *be* + V-*ing* form (i.e. the expanded form, the use of which in HE has been discussed, e.g. by Bliss 1979:294–5). This would have made it possible to insert *do* in front of the latter construction, too, to mark durative aspect. The resulting structure *do be* + V-*ing* may have in later HE been interpreted by learners as a single unit denoting both durative (conveyed by the presence of *do*) and imperfective aspectual features (the latter being carried by the *be* + V-*ing* structure). This interpretation would be a natural one at a stage where the earlier free variation between the simple main verb and the expanded, imperfective, form was no longer tolerated to the same extent as before (Kallen 1986:144). Kallen's account must be considered the most thorough so far, as it endeavours to find a principled solution to all facets of the phenomenon, including the structural specifics of the *do (be)* constructions. At the general level, Kallen's conclusions are essentially similar to those of Harris: the superstratal parallels are given precedence over the substratum, whose role is confined to providing a model for the habitual category and reinforcing its establishment in HE. Kallen's heavy leaning on the wide availability of the superstratal parallels is another feature shared with Harris (and with Guilfoyle, for that matter), and this is a potential weakness of these accounts.

6.3.2.3 Parallels in the other 'Celtic Englishes'

Parallels in the other 'Celtic Englishes' provide, as usual, another useful point of comparison. This time there are some significant differences in the substratum languages, which complicates the issue. Periphrastic *do* does not appear to be used in HebE at all: it is not discussed in Sabban (1982) nor Shuken (1984), and there were no tokens in the Tiree material I have searched. Furthermore, as Klemola (1996:69) notes, standard descriptions of Scottish English either in the Lowlands or the Highlands do not mention it either.[37] In HebE, the expanded form (particularly in the past tense) is quite extensively used instead of *do* to denote habitual aspect, as can be seen from example (139) from Sabban (1982) and from further examples in (140)–(142), drawn from my Tiree database:

(139) We *were having* the smithy you see. 'We had/owned the smithy.'
(25.I.117; cited in Sabban 1982:275)

(140) 'They'*re hearing* noise in that room.' He was seeing what was going on in the room. 'They'*re hearing* roaring in that room,' he says. (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(141) He had ten Highland cows himself. They *were keeping* the cows and it's all Highland cattle in these days. (SA 1970/102/A/Tiree: H.K.)

(142) They had the candles burning where the body was, they wouldn't put a lamp at all, they *were wanting* the dead to be under the candlelight. (SA 1970/103/B/Tiree: H.K.)

Bliss (1972) provides one possible explanation for this difference between HE and HebE. It rests on the differing developments of the so-called dependent forms of verbs in Irish Gaelic *vis-à-vis* Scottish Gaelic: as was mentioned above, these forms had in Early Modern Irish a syntactic distribution which was very similar to that of periphrastic *do* in English, but what is important here is the lack of such development in Scottish Gaelic (Bliss 1972:80). Thus the difference between HebE and HE can be predicted on the grounds of the specific features of the relevant substratal categories. This can be taken to lend indirect support to Bliss's substratal account of habitual aspect marking in HE.

WE shows divided usage: a characteristic marker of habitual aspect in the western and northern dialects is the expanded form *be* + V-*ing,* just as in HebE, but in the southeastern and some southern areas *do* + V is the predominant form alongside the standard present or past tense forms (Thomas 1994:135–6; Penhallurick 1996:309–14). The following examples provided by Penhallurick (1996), recorded from speakers of northern WE, and by Thomas (1994), representing the southeastern variety, serve to illustrate the typical WE patterns:

(143) […] maybe they're doing it in Wales [from an exchange about how corn was stored]. (Penhallurick 1996:323)

(144) […] they were putting on heavy loads. '[…] they were in the habit of/used to put on heavy loads'. (Penhallurick 1996:330)

(145) He do go to the cinema every week. (Thomas 1994:135)

(146) He did go to the cinema every week. (Thomas 1994:135)[38]

Similar constructions are also in evidence in the SAWD data, although the regional distribution appears less clear-cut than in the other studies (see Parry 1977:161–2; 1979:148–9). According to Thomas (1994:135), the geographical distribution reflects the difference in the dating of the general process of Anglicisation: *do* + V represents the early phase of the intrusion of English, while *be* + V-*ing* is found in those areas in which a large part of the population

is still bilingual. Penhallurick's data from the northern dialects of WE confirm this generalisation (Penhallurick 1996:311). As Thomas (1994:136) demonstrates by the Welsh rendering of the sentence *He goes to the cinema every week,* the expanded forms are clearly modelled on the corresponding forms in Welsh (see also Parry 1977:161):

(147) Mae ef yn mynd i'r sinema bob wythnos
is he in go to-the cinema every week
'He goes to the cinema every week'

The parallel with the HebE usage is most evident, and there can be no doubt about Celtic influence upon the use of the expanded forms in these two varieties. The southeastern WE use of *do*-periphrasis, however, cannot be so easily explained. To begin with, there is the possibility of diffusion from especially the southwestern dialects of English. Thomas (1994:135) refers here to Parry's (1964) observations on the diffusion of dialectal forms into southeastern WE from the adjoining English counties especially in the early stages of Anglicisation. The geographical spread of *do*-periphrasis discussed above would also seem to indicate that this feature originated somewhere in the southwest of England. Another factor which speaks for a superstratal source is the invariably uninflected nature of periphrastic *do* in WE (Thomas 1994: 135). The same, as was seen above, is true of the southwestern BrE dialects.

Despite the evidence suggesting that the WE *do* + V pattern had a superstratal origin, Celtic influence has also been mentioned as a possible source of not only the WE construction but of periphrastic *do* in the southwestern dialects of English as well. Harris (1986:194) refers to Barnes (1863) and Braaten (1967) as advocates of the early Celtic (Cornish or Welsh) substratum hypothesis, but seems to dismiss this hypothesis as something which cannot be tested. Other writers who have suggested a Celtic connection with respect to various grammatical features of English dialects include Preusler (1956) and, more recently, Poussa (1990). The former has been criticised on the grounds of the relative dating of the Celtic—English contact and that of the emergence of *do*-periphrasis in English. Thus, Ellegård (1953:119) is sceptical about the strength of Welsh influence as late as the thirteenth century when this construction seems to have first appeared in English (see also Visser 1963–73: 1495–6). Poussa (1990) seeks to explain the *do* + V forms of Somerset dialect as a result of decreolisation from an earlier Celtic-derived, habitual, *do be* structure by *be* deletion, a type of process which according to her has taken place in some of the Caribbean creoles. The next stages in this decreolisation process would have been the loss of the habitual meaning of periphrastic *do,* as was the case in the more easterly dialects at one time and, finally, the 'dummy' *do* would have been dropped altogether, as appears to happen in the speech of the younger generations of Somerset speakers at present (Poussa 1990:424–5). Even this 'refined version' of the Celtic hypothesis has so far

received little support. Denison (1993:282–3) points out, among other things, the 'dearth of other traces of contact with Celtic' in the relevant periods; he also argues that *do* as a tense marker is not confined to language contact situations.

Klemola's (1994) study of the geographical distribution of periphrastic *do* has brought to light something which has not received sufficient attention in previous research but could be of potential interest here: on the basis of the SED data, periphrastic *do* is only used in the present tense in West Cornwall (cf. HE), whereas in the other southwestern areas both present and preterite forms are attested. Klemola also notes that in Devon, which lies between Cornwall and these other areas, periphrastic *do* is not found at all (Klemola 1994:47). In his subsequent work Klemola, following Wakelin (1975), seeks to account for these facts by a combination of the dating and of the special kind of circumstances in which English was brought to Cornwall: this happened largely through education and at a time when Cornish was already dying out, i.e. between 1500 and 1700; the extensive use of periphrastic *do* in the standard language of the period would have provided an easily accessible model for the Cornish speakers shifting to English during that period (Klemola 1996:41–2; Wakelin 1975:100). The absence of periphrastic *do* from Devon and East Cornwall is explained by Klemola (ibid.) as being due to the natural barriers such as the River Parrett, marshy lands, and moors, which prevented the spread of linguistic innovations into these areas from the other southwestern dialects. Whether Klemola's account suffices to explain the predominance of the present tense *do* in the present-day English of West Cornwall remains open to question. The Celtic substratum would seem to me to provide an equally plausible explanation at least in the Cornish setting, if not elsewhere.

6.3.3 Conclusion

It is now time to turn back to the case of periphrastic *do (be)* and *be/bees* in HE dialects. To begin with, the evidence from the HE corpus by and large confirmed the earlier observations on the regional distribution between the *do (be)* and *be/bees:* with a few exceptions found mainly in the Wicklow subcorpus, the former was clearly the predominant form in the dialects examined. The same was true of the data gathered from earlier stages of HE. Another interesting feature emerging from the corpus study was the relatively minor status of the type *do/does be* + V-*ing,* which, as mentioned above, is generally associated with HE. On the other hand, the *do* + V pattern turned out to be more prominent than is assumed in some of the previous works. What evidently requires further documentation is the use of the past tense *did,* which occurred a few times in the corpus.

The question of the origins of periphrastic *do* in HE dialects was approached from many different angles, including of course the usual substratal, superstratal, and universalist points of view. The foregoing discussion has made it evident

that it is extremely hard, if not impossible even, to adduce conclusive evidence for or against any of the proposed sources. On the one hand, the substratum account is strongly supported by the existence of a grammaticalised habitual aspect category in the Irish substratum and, to some extent, by structural peculiarities which differentiate HE usage from those attested in earlier and dialectal varieties of English. The structural parallelism between the HE and the Irish constructions is only partial with regard to the *do (be)* forms but rather direct (even phonetically) between *be/bees* and the consuetudinal forms of the Irish verb 'be'. Other considerations suggesting substratum influence include the probably late emergence of habitual *do (be)* and *be/bees* in HE dialects. Thus Guilfoyle, writing on the late dating of these constructions, explains it by the rise of bilingualism in the eighteenth century (Guilfoyle 1983:30). Finally, the evidence from the other 'Celtic English' contexts lends indirect support to the substratum hypothesis, as it shows how sensitive this particular domain of grammar is to contact influences. This in itself is not surprising in view of the experience from other language contact situations, including creole contexts: as Givón (1982:155) points out, an ability to distinguish between singular actions or states of affairs and those which are repeated over a period of time is one of the most central perceptual-cognitive abilities involved in the formation of creole tense—aspect—mood systems. Although HE cannot be considered a creole (see the discussion in sections 3.1.2 and 11.4), the same kind of cognitive processes may well have reinforced the need (already there on the basis of the corresponding Irish system) for establishing the habitual aspect distinction in HE grammar.

On the other hand, the role of the superstratum is supported by the existence of *do*-periphrasis in earlier English up until the EModE period and by the continued use of periphrastic *do* in southwestern BrE dialects in the type of habitual function which is characteristic of the corresponding HE constructions. Whether the historical, demographical, and other connections between Ireland and the southwest of England would have been intensive enough in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to corroborate dialect diffusion is another matter which awaits further study. At any rate, the assumption of the availability of the superstratal model in some form or another was, as noted above, behind various superstratist and also universalist attempts at explaining the evolution of *do*-periphrasis in HE.

In view of the indirect and inconclusive nature of much of the evidence discussed above one is tempted to go by the safest option: multiple causation, which besides substratal and superstratal elements may also include various types of universals of language contact. Yet another alternative, already mentioned above in connection with the uses of the definite article and some types of perfects, would be to seek an explanation in terms of the notions of 'convergence' and 'convergence areas'. In this case, though, the dialectal areas participating in the convergence area would be considerably different from the ones forming around article usage, which centred on the northern and northwestern parts

of the British Isles. Some of the problems arising from this will be discussed in section 11.3.

6.4 Plural subject-verb concord

There is hardly any regional or social variety of English which would not exhibit some deviation or other from the StE system of subject-verb concord (S-V concord). Edwards and Weltens (1985:108) write that the most common of these is the extension of the third person suffix *-s* to other, and most often, all persons, whether singular or plural. In the Irish context, the potential linguistic interest of this area of grammar stems from two principal sources: the differences between English and Irish, on the one hand, and the dialectal divisions amongst regional dialects of English, on the other. The discussion below will focus on S-V concord with plural subjects. As will be seen, HE dialects present a curious mixture of elements, which has no straightforward relationship with either of the mentioned sources.

I will first survey previous work on S-V concord in HE and other dialects. This will then be followed by my own study based on data drawn from the HE corpus (see section 6.4.2). Comparisons with other varieties will be made in section 6.4.3, and the closing section will be devoted to the question of the possible influence from Irish.

6.4.1 Previous studies of subject-verb concord in HE and other dialects

With the exception of Hume (1878), the earliest writers on HE, e.g. Hayden and Hartog (1909), Joyce (1910/1988) and van Hamel (1912), do not discuss S-V concord with plural subjects at all.[39] This is a little surprising, since there is ample evidence from nineteenth-century texts, for instance, which shows that the HE systems of S-V concord clearly depart from those of StE. I will return to some of these sources in section 6.4.4. Hume (1878:25), describing what he subsumes under the general heading of 'the Irish dialect', puts forward the following generalisation: '[t]he third person singular of verbs is invariably used, unless when immediately preceded by the pronoun *they*'. He adds that '[i]n the uneducated circles, the verb is invariably singular with nouns, whether one plural or several of the same or different numbers form the subject of the verb' (Hume 1878:26). In his *A Linguistic Survey of Ireland,* P.L.Henry briefly discusses the use of the suffix *-s* with present-tense verbs but does not deal with the question of the historical or other background. His principal observation is that in Anglo-Irish dialects '*-s* is the common ending of the present pl.' (Henry 1958:130–31). He then provides examples of verbs taking the *-s* suffix with different types of subject. These include 'collective' nouns, as in *people goes,* 'ordinary' plural nouns, as in *the wee things* {*children*} *catches,* and—in contrast with Hume's generalisation—personal pronouns, as in *they learns it/we bakes it*

(Henry 1958:130). Existential *there*-sentences with plural NPs, such as *there is accidents,* form yet another category which exhibits the same feature (ibid.).

As regards the written varieties of HE, Taniguchi observes somewhat less than Henry of what he calls 'violation of agreement in number'. With the copula, he states, '*is* is sometimes found with the plural subject' (Taniguchi 1972:110). Apart from this observation, he is content to note that, although this kind of 'violation' occurs in Irish English, it is no more common there than in other dialects (ibid.).

More recently, S-V concord has received attention from scholars writing especially on the northern HE dialects and Ulster Scots. J.Milroy (1981:12–13) discusses the occurrence of the *-s* suffix in Ulster speech under the heading of 'Singular Concord' or the 'SING-CON rule'. Briefly, this rule allows (but does not categorically require) the speaker to use the *-s* suffix with (most) noun subjects as well as with demonstrative pronoun subjects, but not with a plural personal pronoun. Thus sentences such as *them eggs is cracked* or even *them's cracked* can freely occur in Ulster speech alongside *those eggs are cracked,* because *them* in the first two sentences is construed as the demonstrative 'those' rather than as a personal pronoun. By contrast, *they's cracked* is never used, as can be predicted on the basis of the SING-CON rule (Milroy 1981:12–13). This rule, as Milroy points out, is in no way unique to Ulster speech but can be traced back to Middle Scots and even further back in history; in Middle Scots it was used in 'the politer sort of literary texts' (1981:13). Milroy's wording 'Middle Scots (and before)' can be understood as referring to the presence of this feature in the northern dialects of Middle English. Indeed, this is the case, as becomes evident, for example, from Mustanoja's succinct formulation of the relevant facts about subject-verb concord in ME and Middle Scots:[40]

> In northern ME and Middle Scots the conjugation of the verb in the present indicative depends on the nature and position of the subject. If the subject is a personal pronoun immediately preceding or following the verb, the ending is *-is (-s)* in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular; in the other persons, singular and plural, there is no ending. Otherwise (i.e., when the personal subject-pronoun is separated from the verb by an intervening word or several words, or when the subject is some other pronoun or a noun) the verb ends in *-is (-s)* in all persons, singular and plural.
>
> (Mustanoja 1960:481–2)

Visser (1963–73:71–3) also comments on the northern origin of the use of *-s* with plural subjects and notes that it gradually spread to southern dialects, too, but was there mainly restricted to 'popular and colloquial diction'. In the literary language, as Visser further points out relying on Knecht (1911), this practice was found 'occasionally' but it became obsolete by the mid-seventeenth century (Visser 1963–73:72).

To turn back to Ulster dialects, Milroy's findings on the SING-CON rule are confirmed by other studies. Thus, Policansky (1982:41) speaks of the 'neutralization of the morphological distinction between singular and plural' in Belfast English. By this she means the use of *-s* with either a singular or a plural noun subject, personal pronouns being again an exception. Harris (1993:154–6) extends the SING-CON rule to IrE dialects in general and lists the following as the contexts of use of the *s*-ending:

(a) with full noun subjects (as opposed to pronouns), e.g. *Her grandchildren comes down;*
(b) after relative pronouns, e.g. *You get wee ones that screws things;*
(c) in questions with subject-verb inversion, e.g. *Is my hands clean?;*
(d) with collective NPs which have a plural meaning but are not plural in form (not restricted to HE), e.g. *Most of the hard core's all older men.*

Montgomery (1989), writing on the historical connections between Scotch-Irish (Ulster Scots) and Appalachian English dialects, discusses the SING-CON rule in these varieties under the heading of the 'Subject-Type Constraint'. This term is perhaps better in line with the most modern linguistic thinking and will also be used in this study. Like Milroy (1981), Montgomery considers this constraint to derive from the parallel feature of Middle Scots (see also Montgomery (1994) for a detailed examination of the history of S-V concord in Scots). Having surveyed data from the southern dialects of HE which do not conform to the Subject-Type Constraint (see especially Henry's examples involving personal pronouns above), Montgomery concludes that 'IrE exhibits ScE influence in the northern counties of Ireland, where the Ulster Scots have been predominant for the better part of four centuries' (Montgomery 1989:252).

More recently, Alison Henry (1995) and Corrigan (1997b) have studied subject—verb concord in Belfast English and in the dialect of South Armagh, respectively. Henry chooses to adhere to the term 'singular concord', although she agrees with Policansky (1976) that 'variable concord' would be more appropriate, because singular concord in Belfast English is an optional feature, i.e. a plural subject can also take the plural form of the verb. Henry does not provide statistics on the degree of variation in the concord patterns, but her description of the contexts in which singular concord occurs matches those given in the earlier works, with the exception of questions with inversion (as in Harris's example *Is my hands clean?* cited above), which according to A.Henry (1995:19) obligatorily requires concord in Belfast English. Corrigan's results, based on data drawn from a corpus of South Armagh English (SAE), are similarly non-quantitative, but suggest a similar system of concord to that observed for Belfast English by Milroy (1981), Policansky (1982) and A.Henry (1995).

Bearing in mind the earlier history of the Subject-Type Constraint, its geographical distribution could be expected to cover not only Scots and the Scottish English

dialects, but also the northern dialects of BrE. Ihalainen (1994:213–14; 221–2) cites several sources which confirm the existence of this constraint in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century northern BrE dialects. His term for the use of *-s* with plural subjects is the 'Northern Subject Rule'. That the same feature lingers on in at least some northern dialects is corroborated by, for example, Beal's (1993:194) discussion of concord in Tyneside and Northumbrian English. However, the past tense form *was* is an exception in that it allows both noun and personal pronoun subjects in the speech of this area, that is, sentences like *The carpets was soaked* and *They was soaking* are equally possible (ibid.). On the other hand, similar 'laxing' of the Subject-Type Constraint appears to have taken place in Scottish English: Miller cites examples like *we wiz aw asleep* 'we were all asleep' alongside *we were,* which he describes as being 'frequent' but adds that *we is* 'does not occur' (1993:109). That the past tense of *be* behaves differently with respect to concord is also true of southern HE dialects, as will be seen in the discussion below.

The SED also furnishes useful evidence on concord with plural subjects. Thus, forms like *They goes to church* (Item VIII.5.1) were recorded at localities in a very wide area comprising Lancashire, Yorkshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Monmouthshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Hampshire, and Sussex. Needless to say, forms with plural noun subjects (such as *Bulls bellows,* Item III.10.2) were equally widespread. Wright's *EDG* sums up the main features of S-V concord in other than the northern BrE dialects by stating that '[m]ost of the south-midland, eastern, southern and south-western dialects have *s, z* or [schwa] + *z* for all persons of the plural' (Wright 1905/1968:296).[41]

It is noteworthy that at least certain varieties of WE follow what could now be called the 'southern' rather than the 'northern' (Scots and northern BrE) system of concord with plural subjects, because they do not observe the Subject-Type Constraint. This becomes evident from the findings of the SAWD, which records third-person plural forms with [s] or [z] regardless of the type of subject as follows: *Bulls bellows* D[yfed]/Pem[broke] 4; *Bulls roars* D/ Pem 4; *Horses neighs* D/Pem 4; *They goes to church* D/Cth [Carmarthen] 9; *They works* D/Pem 8; *People does* D/Pem 3; *The dealers buys them* D/Cth 1; *Some puts peas in it* D/Cth 7; *Roots goes down deep* D/Cth 9; *Not many comes about here* D/Pem 8 (see Parry 1979:147). Matters are somewhat less clear in the northern WE dialects with respect to personal pronoun subjects, but Penhallurick (1991: 194) records forms like *bulls bellows* and *some calls it* for localities in Clwyd and Gwynedd.

6.4.2 Subject-verb concord in southern HE dialects

Against this general historical and dialectal background it is now interesting to examine what place southern HE occupies between the 'northern' (Scots and northern BrE) and 'southern' systems of S-V concord, and also, to what extent

—if at all—the Subject-Type Constraint is observed in southern HE dialects. As will be remembered, Montgomery (1989) does not find conclusive evidence of its general occurrence in other than the northern varieties of HE and Scotch-Irish, whereas on the basis of Harris's (1993) description it could be expected to operate in southern HE dialects, too. Since the primary interest lies in the status of the Subject-Type Constraint in southern HE in general rather than in any of its regional subdialects, I will in the following focus on the results of a quantitative survey of plural S-V concord in the HE corpus as a whole. Considering the size of the corpus, a study based on a sample was considered the most feasible method. The statistics given in Table 6.10 are based on data collected from every fifth page of the transcribed corpora from each of the four dialects. In order to enable comparisons with other varieties, and especially those which follow the Subject-Type Constraint, I have arranged the data in a fashion very similar to the studies reported in Montgomery (1989). Thus, I have distinguished between seven different types of plural subject: (i) conjoined NP, (ii) *there__NP* ('existential' structure), (iii) collective NP (i.e. nouns without plural form but with plural reference), (iv) other NP (including indefinite, demonstrative and relative pronouns), (v) *they,* (vi) *them,* (vii) other plural personal pronoun *(we/you(se), ye)*. As regards the predicate verb, a three-way distinction has been made between (i) *be* present, (ii) *be* past, and (iii) other verbs. Note that *be* here comprises both copula and auxiliary uses. The following examples from the HE corpus serve to illustrate 'nonconcord' with the different types of plural subject and verb:

CONJOINED NP:

(148) Oh, my mother and father *was* born and reared in Dublin. (Dublin: M.L.)

There__NP:

(149) There *was* four = boys of us, and there'*s* three of them dead. (Wicklow: J.F.)

COLLECTIVE NP:

(150) […] and I think, at the pace the people *is* going they are not going to stick it. (Wicklow: M.K.)

(151) They were in the country that time, the British, the British *was* in the country […] (Dublin: J.O'B.)

OTHER NP:

(152) […] but then, sons of theirs *comes* over here, an odd time *has* come. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(153) 'Course he signed the Treaty, and some *was* for it and some again' it. (Dublin: W.H.)

(154) There is some houses that's class of haunted. (Clare: M.R.)

They:

(155) Oh well, only, they *gets* pensions, you know, and I get the old-age pension. (Kerry: J.F.)

(156) […] when they *was* about three months old, or four, like, […] (Clare: F.K.)

Them:

(157) Them *is* all reclaimed [land]. (Wicklow: D.M.)

(158) And you know what wages them *was* getting that time in thirty-nine? (Wicklow: J.F.)

OTHER PERSONAL PRONOUN:

(159) We *keeps* = about ten cows that way, you know, and few cattle. (Kerry: J.F.)

(160) […] I happened to be, we *was* just getting our tea. (Wicklow: J.F.)

Under the same heading of 'other personal pronoun' could be mentioned a solitary instance of 'unbound' or 'absolute' (i.e. non-reflexive) *theirself* used as a subject of a singular verb:

(161) I shouldn't say that = but they don't care whether you live a day = so long as theirself *is* well-off. (Clare: J.N.)

Table 6.10 shows that nonconcord was most common in existential *there*-sentences, either present or past, with a slight bias towards the past-tense context. This result is hardly surprising, given the widespread nature of this feature in other dialects, including even educated BrE. As a further point of comparison, one could mention the results of Cheshire *et al.* (1989:194–5), which showed that *there was* and *there's* followed by plural 'notional' subjects were among the fifteen most common nonstandard grammatical forms in teenage speech throughout Britain. The percentage frequencies with which these forms were reported by the subjects of Cheshire *et al.'s* study were 85.0 and 82.5, respectively, i.e. almost as high as my figures for the southern HE dialects. Turning back to Table 6.10, the category 'Other NP' was the second

Table 6.10 Plural subject-verb concord in the HE data

	Conjoined NP	There __*NP*	*Collective NP*	*Other NP*	They	Them	*Other personal pronoun*	*Total*
BE present								
Nonconcord	–	40	2	27	–	1	1	71
Concord	–	8	6	29	126	6	9	184
Total	–	48	8	56	126	7	10	255
% Nonconcord	–	83.3	25.0	48.2	0.0	14.3	10.0	27.8
BE past								
Nonconcord	2	54	5	28	12	1	1	103
Concord	2	5	5	22	106	3	20	163
Total	4	59	10	50	118	4	21	266
% Nonconcord	50.0	91.5	50.0	56.0	10.2	25.0	5.0	38.7
Other verbs								
Nonconcord	–	1	3	13	5	–	2	24
Concord	–	–	9	15	139	–	36	199
Total	–	1	12	28	144	–	38	223
% Nonconcord	–	100	25.0	46.4	3.5	–	5.3	10.8

Note: based on a sample consisting of every 5th page of the HE corpus.

most frequent, with about half of the instances displaying nonconcord in all contexts examined. Within this category, nonconcord was most common with relative pronouns and common nouns. Collective NPs came third, and here the difference between the present and past tenses was more noticeable, again clearly in favour of the latter. With third-person and other personal pronouns nonconcord remained a rather marginal feature. There were no occurrences of forms like *they is*..., but a couple of tokens of *them is/was*...(and one *theirself is* ...) did occur in the sample corpus. Similarly, in the case of verbs other than *be* nonconcord appeared with personal pronoun subjects in a few instances.

Generally speaking, the figures in Table 6.10 confirm Harris's (1993) observations on contexts in which nonconcord typically occurs, except that in southern HE the Subject-Type Constraint does not appear to be so stringent with pronoun subjects as has been shown to be the case in the northern varieties of HE and Ulster Scots, and as was argued by Hume (1878) for 'the Irish dialect' as a whole. As mentioned, forms like *they is*...do not appear to be part of the grammar of southern HE any more than that of the northern varieties, but the rate of occurrence of the past tense *they was*...(at just over 10 per cent) and the occasional occurrence of nonconcord with other verbs involving pronoun subjects suffice to show that the Subject-Type Constraint is not categorically observed in southern HE. As regards differences between the individual HE dialects, no clear differences could be ascertained between Clare, Kerry, and Wicklow, whereas in the Dublin sample the percentage of nonconcord with pronoun subjects remained lower than in the rural dialects.

6.4.3 Comparisons with other varieties

Detailed quantitative comparisons with Scotch-Irish or northern HE are not possible, as there are no similar statistics available from these varieties. However, Policansky's results from her quantitative survey of Belfast speech showed that plural pronoun subjects 'are invariably followed by a plural-marked verb' (1982:41). This is a clear indication of the categorical status of the Subject-Type Constraint in northern HE insofar as pronouns subjects are concerned; with plural nouns, concord was 'mixed', i.e. variable (Policansky 1982:41–2). Corrigan's study of the use of the copula *was* with pronoun subjects in SAE revealed a complete absence of tokens, which is a similar indication of the operation of the Subject-Type Constraint (Corrigan 1997b:223–4). Montgomery's discussion of Appalachian English (AppE) provides some further, and more direct, points of comparison here. As Montgomery (1989:255) notes, several sociolinguistic studies have confirmed the use of the verbal *-s* suffix as one of the characteristic features of AppE, as it is spoken in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. Combining the statistical evidence from three sets of comparable data drawn from AppE allows Montgomery to conclude that the patterning of verbal *-s* in AppE reflects the Scotch-Irish system with its Subject-Type Constraint. Thus, in the present tense with *they* as subject, verbal *-s* occurs in AppE at the very marginal level of 0.46 per cent. Note that this percentage includes all verbs. The comparable figure for all present-tense verbs in my HE sample (combining *they, them* and the one instance of *theirself* under the same heading here) would be 2.6 per cent (only 2.2 per cent, if *them* is excluded). Though hardly significant in statistical terms, the difference between AppE and southern HE is underlined by the fact that in two of the three sets of data from AppE, the percentages of verbal *-s* with *they* as subject were down to 0.0 (the data from West Virginia) and 0.3 (Southern West Virginia; see Montgomery 1989:256–7). On the other hand, in the third set, from the Smoky Mountains, verbal *-s* was more common in all categories, including even cases with the pronoun *they* as subject.[42] Notice, however, that on the basis of the data from Nicholas County, West Virginia, verbal *-s* never occurs with the first- and second-person plural pronouns *we* and *you* (see Table 2 in Montgomery 1989:256). There were only two occurrences of nonconcord with *we* in the HE sample, but the existence of this pattern in southern HE is confirmed by Henry (1958:130), who cites examples like *we bakes it* and *we calls 'em* from various localities mainly in the southern, southeastern and southwestern parts of Ireland. Unfortunately, he does not specify their rates of occurrence.

As mentioned, the data examined here scarcely permit statistically valid comparisons between varieties, but combining the various pieces of evidence, quantitative and qualitative, allows us to draw some conclusions about the place of southern HE among dialects displaying nonconcord with plural subjects. Plural S-V concord in southern HE represents a mixture of elements drawn from the 'northern', originally northern ME and Scots type, which follows the

Subject-Type Constraint, and from the 'southern' BrE type, which has 'universal *-s*' throughout the plural paradigm regardless of the type of subject. The main departure from the northern system is the occasional use of verbal *-s* with plural personal-pronoun subjects, but this represents a rather marginal choice on the basis of my data. On the other hand, it is the very existence of this choice with personal-pronoun subjects which provides a link between HE and the 'southern' British type. What distinguishes southern HE from the latter (apart from the statistical tendency to avoid the *-s* with plural personal-pronoun subjects) is the general absence, at least from my HE corpus, of verbal *-s* with the first-person singular pronouns (with very few exceptions).[43] This sets HE apart from, for instance, some southern and southwestern dialects of BrE, which quite generally have the *-s* in the first person singular (see Wright 1905/1968:296). All things considered, the evidence for 'northern' influence on S-V concord in HE is stronger than that for 'southern'.

6.4.4 Evidence from early HE texts and the question of Irish influence

Let us finally consider the evidence obtainable from earlier forms of HE and the possibility of Irish influence on S-V concord in HE. Bliss (1979:291) notes two tendencies in his collection of early HE texts: omission of the *-s* of the third person singular, and addition of what he terms 'obtrusive *-s*' to forms of the other persons. He describes the latter as less common but cites a number of examples from the texts, a couple of which involve plural noun subjects. Bliss refers here to Irish as a possible source of the HE usage (1979:291). It is true, as Bliss points out, that the third-person singular form of the Irish verb is used with plural noun subjects, too, and that this form can be equally used with pronouns of all persons in the so-called analytic construction. According to Mac Eoin (1993:125), this construction is now in the process of replacing the older, synthetic, paradigm, after a coexistence spanning the past 800 years. Thus, in Modern Irish the verb remains in the same third-person singular form regardless of the type of subject, as in *Tagann an fear* 'The man comes', *Tagann na fir* 'The men come', *Tagann siad* 'They come' (Mac Eoin 1993:141). There is, however, some degree of variation amongst the dialects of Irish, with some dialects such as Munster still showing preference for the older synthetic forms (see Ó Siadhail 1989:182–5). The richer verbal morphology of the southern dialects, as compared with the more impoverished northern ones, is also noted by McCloskey and Hale (1984:492 fn. 4).

The facts about Irish may explain the corresponding HE usage to some extent, but the low percentages of verbal *-s* with pronoun subjects in HE reveal that this influence has not been very pervasive at least in the present-day dialects examined in this study. This, in turn, may well be due to the mentioned differences between Irish dialects or, more probably, to influences coming from the northern type of concord. The data from the nineteenth-century

emigrant letters do, in fact, suggest some influence from the northern direction. There is a lot of inter- and even intra-individual variation in these letters, evidently depending on the level of education and literacy of the writer. Nonetheless, while verbal *-s* is extremely common with plural noun subjects—indeed, in some letters much more common than in the HE speech sample studied above—there are very few instances of the use of *-s* with plural pronominal subjects. The following extract from *The Normile Letters,* written by Michael Normile, who had emigrated to Australia from Co. Clare, contains a couple of such instances. Notice, however, that in the last sentence of (162) an adverb *(never)* intervenes between the pronoun subject and the verb, which may be a factor here (cf. Mustanoja's specification of the contexts for verbal *-s* above).[44]

(162) Shuch [i.e. such] as them that shoeses [choose] to run away from there [their] Tribe and go*es* to work for a settler he dare not go back again to his tribe or any other tribe they would spear him dead. They never sleeps inside doors always sleeps in the bush. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 5, 1856; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:76)

However, a far more frequent patterning even in these same letters is verbal *-s* with noun subjects and no *-s* with pronoun subjects, as can be seen in the extract in (163):

(163) Labouring men Expects good wages—they Expect a 1£ day. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 2, 1854; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:69)

Thus the nineteenth-century and earlier HE data do not provide support for anything more than perhaps reinforcing influence from the corresponding Irish usage. It is of course possible that the use of verbal *-s* with pronoun subjects was at that period more frequent in speech than it appears to have been in writing, but apart from the indirect evidence obtainable from present-day usage there is no way of ascertaining this. Another factor which makes it very hard to assess the input from the Irish systems of concord is the existence of widespread parallels in other dialects for all patterns attested in HE.[45]

7

QUESTIONS, RESPONSES, AND NEGATION

7.1 Introduction

Questions, responses, and negation form a vast area because of the discoursal dimensions, and for this reason alone only selected aspects can be discussed within the bounds of this study. I have chosen to focus on three areas of HE usage which have clearly grammaticalised forms of manifestation. They are concerned with the use (or non-use, rather) of *yes* and *no* in responses to so-called Yes/No questions, word order in indirect or 'embedded' questions, and failure (or more neutrally, absence) of 'negative attraction' with certain kinds of indefinite and universal pronouns when they are in subject position and within the scope of negation. These will be discussed in detail in sections 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4, respectively. Some aspects of so-called WH-questions and their responses will be dealt with in connection with focusing devices in Chapter 10.

Other potentially interesting features not investigated here include, first, the oft-mentioned predilection for rhetorical questions and their possible Irish background (for discussion, see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988:33; Lunny 1981:137–8; Bliss 1984a:148; see also the discussion on the conjunctions *but* and *only* in section 8.4 below). Another feature often associated with HE is the use of double or multiple negation—sometimes also referred to as 'negative concord'. Though still used to some extent in HE dialects, this feature is best described as one of the 'general vernacular' forms commonly found in other dialectal and nonstandard varieties of English, too (for discussion of HE in this respect, see, e.g. Harris 1993:168–70).

7.2 Responses to Yes/No questions

Responses to Yes/No questions form a potentially interesting area because Irish has no exact equivalents of the affirmative and negative particles *yes* and *no*. Indeed, there are observations in the literature on HE usages which are said to reflect the Irish system to a certain extent. Thus, Hayden and Hartog (1909: 934–5) claim that 'the Irish use the particles "Yes" and "No" very sparingly, and even then add a short sentence of affirmation or denial'. According to the same authors, this is a constant source of trouble for English lawyers in

courts whenever an Irish witness is in the box, as it is hard to extract a simple *yes* or *no* response from them (Hayden and Hartog 1909:935). Another early writer commenting on the HE usage in responses is Joyce (1910/1988:130), who, however, gives a slightly different description: for him, the special nature of HE responses manifests itself in the 'redundant' use of full statements besides the *yes* or *no* indicating the polar choice. He then illustrates this tendency by quoting examples from Donlevy's *Irish Catechism* (but fails to notice the absence of *yes* from two out of the three examples!).

Apart from these rather general observations in the early studies, the question-response sequence in HE has not been systematically investigated. Since the kind of interview material which forms the bulk of the HE corpus should lend itself well to a study of such phenomena, an attempt is made here to shed some light on the possible distinctiveness of HE in this respect. I will begin with a brief outline of the Irish system of responses, as it helps to focus the investigation on the essential points of difference between the Irish and English systems.

7.2.1 Responses in Irish

Mac Eoin (1993:141) states the basic facts about Irish responses in a very succinct form: instead of words for 'yes' and 'no', Irish repeats the verb of the question, usually in the shortest available form. Mac Eoin's example is:

(1) Question: *An dtiocfaidh tú?* 'Will you come?' Answer: *Tiocfad* (1 sg.) or *Tiocfaidh* (3 sg. or personless form) 'I will.'
(Mac Eoin 1993:141.)

A similar description is to be found in McCloskey (1991:272–3), who treats the Irish usage as an analogue of the more general process of VP Ellipsis, also familiar from English. His term for this particular type of ellipsis is 'Small Clause Ellipsis', which according to him operates in some other clausal structures, too (for details, see McCloskey 1991:273–4).

Mac Eoin's and McCloskey's accounts can be complemented by Ó Siadhail's (1989) treatment of Irish 'responsives'. First, writing on the uses of the auxiliary verb *déan* 'make, do', Ó Siadhail notes that it can substitute for other verbs in responsives but that dialectal differences exist. Thus in Connacht *déan* as a substitute 'seems to be confined to the future/imperative' (Ó Siadhail 1989: 303). What is interesting from the point of view of the present study is Ó Siadhail's observation according to which *déan* is particularly frequent in Munster Irish. Ó Siadhail (ibid.) cites the following examples from Dunquin, Co. Kerry:

(2) Ar ólais an tae?
'Did you drink the tea?'

Dheineas.
'Yes, I did.' [Lit. 'I-did' —M.F.]

(3) Ól ceann eile!
'Drink another one!'
Ní dhéanfad.
'No, I won't.' [Lit. 'NEG I-will-do' —M.F.]

In another context, Ó Siadhail (1989:245–9) discusses the responsive system in copula clauses, i.e. in clauses containing the copula *is* in predicate position. In this type of clauses, as Ó Siadhail points out, the system is otherwise the same as in other clauses but the copula, because of its stressless nature, requires the presence of another constituent. This is usually the second element in the question, e.g. the subject or the complement in copula clauses. The general pattern is illustrated by (4)–(6), cited from Cork dialect by Ó Siadhail (1989:245–6):

(4) Is é an múinteoir é?
'He is the teacher?'
Is é.
'Yes (he is).' [Lit. 'is he', i.e. 'he is' —M.F.]

(5) Nach maith leat an chathaoir sin?
'Don't you like that chair?'
Ní maith.
'No (I don't).' [Lit. 'NEG-is good' —M.F.]

(6) Ní leis an leabhar seo?
'He doesn't own this book?'
Ní leis.
'No (he doesn't).' [Lit. 'NEG-is at-him' —M.F.]

The otherwise relatively straightforward picture is somewhat complicated by the use of the pronoun *ea* in certain kinds of contexts and by the tendency for the substantive verb *tá* to replace the copula in responses to certain types of clauses (see Ó Siadhail 1989:246–8 for details). For the purposes of the present inquiry, however, it is sufficient to note the basic features of the Irish system: absence of words for 'yes' and 'no' and the repetition of the verbal element, be it either the lexical verb contained in the question, the substitute *déan* 'make, do', or the copula.

7.2.2 Responses in HE

As regards HE usage, we should expect to find a tendency to omit *yes* or *no* and, in lieu of these, repetition of the verbal or 'modal' element including of

course the subject (since HE can hardly be considered a 'pro-drop' variety). The expected patterns corresponding to the Irish examples in (4)–(6) should thus be in their simplified forms as follows:

(7) He is the teacher?
– He is.

(8) Don't you like that chair?
– I don't.

(9) He doesn't own this book?
– He doesn't.

In actual discourse, of course, things are hardly ever so simple as in the above examples, and a lot of variation exists in the form of both questions and responses. Indeed, what counts as a Yes/No question and as a response to such a question needs to be clarified before examining what particular forms HE responses assume in actual discourse.

The question-response sequence is here defined as a pragmatically coherent exchange which consists of an 'eliciting move' (i.e. question) on the part of the interviewer followed by a 'responding move' (i.e. response) on the part of the interviewee (cf. Stenström 1984). Yes/No questions are eliciting moves which expect a 'polar' choice of the interviewee, i.e. either affirmation or negation (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976:208; Quirk *et al.* 1985:806). They can assume different structural forms, the most common of which are interrogative and declarative forms (uttered with an appropriate intonation pattern). It is one of the advantages of a corpus-based study that, should ambiguities arise as to whether a given utterance constitutes a question or not, we can rely on the reaction of the interviewee: if he/she interprets it as an eliciting move and res-ponds correspondingly, we are dealing with a 'pragmatically coherent' exchange.

In order to focus the inquiry on the type of structures illustrated in (7)–(9), we need to further distinguish between different kinds of responses, only one of which will be relevant in this context. Consider, first, the examples of exchanges drawn from the HE corpus in (10)–(12):

(10) [The people didn't like the Black an' Tans?] Oh, they hated them. (Dublin: P.T.)

(11) [How about the old people here, do they still speak Irish together?] There are no = there are no old people at all there now. I'm about the oldest man myself around now. (Kerry: M.C.)

(12) [But this blessing didn't go as far as the women?] I never heard anything about that. (Clare: M.F.)

In none of these does the interviewee provide what could be called a 'direct' response to the question (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976:206). In (10), the choice made by the interviewee has to be inferred on the basis of the (lexical) cues provided in the response but it is not explicitly indicated. Halliday and Hasan (ibid.) call this type of response 'supplementary', as it 'gives supplementary information implying but not actually expressing an answer'. Stenström (1984: 63–4) labels it as an 'imply'. In (11), then, the response is even more indirect and effectively evades providing the expected affirmation or negation; this would be an instance of a 'disclaimer' in Halliday and Hasan's (1976:206) terminology and an 'evade' in that of Stenström (1984:63–4). Finally, in (12) the interviewee explicitly admits his inability to provide an answer. Stenström (ibid.) uses the term 'disclaim' for this type, while Halliday and Hasan subsume both evading and disclaiming answers under the same heading of 'disclaimers' (they have a third category labelled as 'commentary', which comments on the question; see Halliday and Hasan 1976:206). Terminological issues notwithstanding, all response types illustrated so far constitute 'indirect' responses to Yes/No questions and are from here on excluded from consideration.

Consider, next, the exchanges in (13) and (14):

(13) [Used children be tormenting him or?] Yeah. (Dublin: P.L.)

(14) [Do you have any information about your great grandfather?]
No, no. (Wicklow: C.C.)

Examples (13) and (14) illustrate the simplest kind of direct Yes/No responses: the response consists of the mere polarity word *yes* or *no*. In actual discourse, however, this word is very often accompanied by something else, an optional addition which may be termed an 'elaboration' (cf. Stenström 1984:180–1). The elaboration can, for example, repeat a part of the clause given in the question, as in (15) and (16):

(15) [I s'pose* the army has also one [i.e. a pension scheme]?]
Oh yes, * they have. (Dublin: H.McC.)

(16) [Have they [sheep] got any kind of leaders in = in the group?] Oh no, they haven', no. They just = they practically know one other now, you'd largely find your own sheep in the vicinity about, = where they are. (Wicklow: J.N.)

The patterns illustrated in (15) and (16) consist of Yes/No followed by what could be called the 'Modal element' (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976:209). Notice, however, that the Modal element may be replaced by some other structure which elaborates on the answer in some way or another, as in (17) and (18):

(17) [So, that's [the pension money] sufficient, is it?] Yes, it barely keeps me, you know. (Dublin: W.H.)

(18) [Was he ever around this area?] No, not in my time. No, not in my time. (Wicklow: T.F.)

The next set of examples in (19)–(21) illustrates a pattern which should be of particular interest in this connection because it is similar to the corresponding Irish system. It starts off directly with the elaboration, which here constitutes the primary answer and consists of the Modal element only. The Modal element can, however, then be accompanied by a 'follow-up' move, as in (21):

(19) [Do people eat it still?] They do. (Kerry: M.C.)

(20) [Are you telling me their names?] I amn't. (Clare: F.K.)

(21) [D' you have the song?] I haven't, I have only the openin' line of it. (Clare: C.O'B.)

Furthermore, there is yet another fairly frequent pattern where the response part 'echoes' the question, i.e. repeats it in the appropriate affirmative or negative form:

(22) [So, you belong to that parish?]
Belong to that parish. (Kerry: C.D.)

(23) [Do you ever remember Johnny Doran comin' around?]
I do remember Johnny Doran comin' around. (Clare: C.O'B.)

The remaining types include direct responses with structures other than those listed so far, as in (24) and (25), or the occurrence of *yes/no* in the follow-up move, i.e. after the elaboration part and thus outside the primary response, as in (26):

(24) [Now, you were sayin' that there were two sorts of fairies there?]
That's right. (Clare: M.R.)

(25) [Yeah. And does it [fall of snow] happen very often then?] Well, not very often. But when it does come, it does be wicked here sometimes. (Wicklow: J.N.)

(26) [Did you have to learn that [Irish] at school?]

Oh, we learned a little. Oh, a little, yeah. I only learned that, I left school early. (Dublin: W.H.)

We should now be in a position to delimit the kinds of responses which are the most relevant from the contact-linguistic point of view. The patterns in (13)–(18) all involve *yes* or *no* followed by an optional elaboration consisting of either the Modal or some other element. They are relevant to the present study, as they represent the typical StE direct response types. In the following I will use the abbreviation 'Yes/No (+ Modal/Other)' for all three (the brackets here indicate the optionality of the elaboration part). Similarly, the type of response illustrated in (19)–(21) is relevant, as it can be considered to reflect the most typical Irish response. The label for this will be 'Modal only'. 'Echo responses' are problematical because both Irish and English use them.[1] Since an examination of this type would not shed light on the possible Irish interference upon HE usage, I have decided to relegate all echo responses to the category 'Other'. The same holds for all the other types illustrated in (24)–(26). The investigation will thus be based on a three-way distinction between direct responses of the following types:

(a) 'Yes/No (+ Modal/Other)'
(b) 'Modal only'
(c) 'Other'.

The results of the quantitative survey are shown in Table 7.1. The last column gives the percentage of the 'Modal only' type, which is here considered to be the most relevant from the contact-linguistic point of view.

The figures show that the 'Modal only' type of response is most frequent in the (south)western dialects, and especially in Clare dialect, where it accounts for well over a third of all direct responses. By contrast, the same type is a rather peripheral feature in both of the eastern dialects, and in Dublin speech, in particular.

The most plausible explanation for these differences is the continuing influence of Irish upon the usage in the west of Ireland.[2] Unfortunately, quantitative

Table 7.1 Frequencies of the different types of direct responses in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	Yes/No *(+Modal/ Other)*	*Modal only*	*Other*	N	*% Modal only*
Clare (30,000)	52	65	52	169	38.5
Kerry (44,000)	158	96	100	354	27.1
Wicklow (42,000)	279	55	105	439	12.5
Dublin (42,000)	156	17	85	258	6.6
HE total (158,000)	645	233	342	1220	19.1

comparison with BrE dialects was not possible, because not all of the questions were included in the transcripts. On the other hand, it is scarcely needed, as the trend emerging from the HE corpus is so clear. My results also lend support to McCloskey's view according to which the HE usage arose during what he calls the 'pidginisation process' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the identification of the Irish 'Small Clause Ellipsis' with VP Ellipsis in English (McCloskey 1991:279, fn. 15).

7.3 Word order in indirect questions

The linguistic interest of indirect questions, as they are used in HE, is neatly captured in the following statement by Hayden and Hartog:

> The indirect question preceded by "whether" or "if" does not exist in Gaelic; and it is rare in the mouth of an Irishman, who will say "I wondered was the horse well bred?"
>
> (Hayden and Hartog 1909:938)

Bliss (1984a:148) expands on this, distinguishing, first, between two types of questions: 'simple' and 'complex'. The former are 'simple' in the sense that they can be answered by *yes* or *no;* the latter are introduced by an interrogative word. Bliss goes on to note the difference in StE between the two types in the indirect interrogative context: while indirect simple questions require an introductory *if* or *whether,* complex questions preserve the interrogative word, but as opposed to direct questions, there is no inversion in either case. Inversion is, as Bliss states, retained in (southern) HE, as in Irish, in both types of indirect question, for example: *She asked him were there many staying at the hotel; They asked when would you be back* (ibid.). Typical verbs introducing indirect questions include *ask, wonder, know* (in the negative), *tell* and *see* (ibid.).

Other works commenting on this feature include Lunny (1981), who cites examples from speakers representing different age-groups in the heavily Irish-influenced dialect area of Ballyvourney, West Cork, and Harris (1993). Embedded inversion has also turned out to be of interest to scholars working within the Principles and Parameters framework: recent contributions are McCloskey (1991, 1992), Henry (1995) and Corrigan (1997b).

7.3.1 Embedded inversion in HE dialects

The widespread use of inversion in indirect questions, or embedded inversion for short, is also confirmed by my HE data. Below are some examples illustrating both simple and complex indirect questions, which I prefer to call indirect 'Yes/ No questions' and 'WH-questions', respectively, in accordance with the terminology used in standard grammars of English (see, e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985:806). Note that the latter category includes questions introduced by *how,* as in (30):

(27) I don' know *was it* a priest or who went in there one time with a horse-collar put over his neck. (Kerry: C.D.)

(28) And now and again I'd be saying to her, 'Do you think *is it* done? Is it cooked now? Do you think *is it* done?' (Wicklow: T.F.)

(29) I wonder what *is he* like at all. = = The leprechaun. = I don' know what *is it* at all. (Clare: M.V.)

(30) Ehm = oh, how long, wait till I see how long *would it* be? (Dublin: P.L.)

The most common verbs used in the 'matrix' clause in the HE corpus were the same as those listed by Bliss (1984a), except that *wonder* and *tell* were rather infrequent as compared with *know* (18 tokens), *ask* (14) or *see* (10).

Although embedded inversion is a general feature of HE vernacular, one should not ignore the fact that at least on the basis of my HE data there is a certain amount of variation in the present-day usage. This seems to depend, first of all, on the dialect. As Table 7.2 shows, inversion was again most frequent in the (south)western varieties; Wicklow was at about the same level, but in Dublin speech inversion was a clear minority option.[3]

Another factor behind the choice of word order is the type of indirect question: in my corpus there was a clear preference for inversion in the Yes/No type in the two (south)western varieties, whereas the majority of the WH-questions assumed the standard form (with no inversion) in all varieties. For Yes/No questions the percentages of inversion were 58.3 for both Clare and Kerry, 44.8 for Wicklow, but only 25.0 for Dublin. The corresponding percentages for the WH-questions were 35.0 for Clare, 14.8 for Kerry, 25.6 for Wicklow, and 6.3 for Dublin. On the basis of these figures, the rural-urban divide seems clear enough, despite the great amount of variation even between the two rural dialects of the (south)west. That WH-questions are less susceptible to inversion is also confirmed by A.Henry's study of Belfast English (1995: 106). According to Henry, inversion in embedded WH-questions is even ungrammatical for a 'not insubstantial number of speakers' (ibid.). By comparison, Corrigan's

Table 7.2 Frequencies of inversion in indirect questions in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	*Inversion*	*No inversion*	N	*% Inversion*
Clare (30,000)	14	18	32	43.8
Kerry (44,000)	18	33	51	35.3
Wicklow (42,000)	23	45	68	33.8
Dublin (42,000)	7	45	52	13.5
HE total (158,000)	62	141	203	30.5

study of South Armagh English showed both types to be possible in that dialect (Corrigan 1997b:264; see also Harris 1993:167–8 for a similar account).

A third factor determining word order in embedded contexts has to do with the relative ordering of the matrix clause and the subordinate clause. Quite predictably, inversion did not take place in those few instances where the subordinate clause preceded the matrix clause. Examples of both types of question are:

(31) Whether they can speak the English or not, I don' know. (Kerry: M.C.)

(32) At what it'll end at, I don't know. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(33) Now, how it was called Narney's Court, I don't know. (Dublin: P.L.)

7.3.2 Substratal parallels

As was mentioned above, Irish retains the word order of direct questions in indirect questions. This is particularly transparent in the case of Yes/No questions, as can be seen from the following pair of examples given by Ó Siadhail (1989:321):

(34) An raibh tú sásta?
'Were you content?'

(35) Chuir sé ceist ort an raibh tú sásta.
'He asked you if you were content.'

Example (35) shows that Irish has no equivalent of the English *if/whether*. The Irish counterparts of WH-questions (here referred to by the English term for convenience) are less straightforward, though, as in Irish questions introduced by an interrogative pronoun normally require a relative clause structure, which in fact is a type of cleft sentence (Ó Siadhail 1989:317–9; Mac Eoin 1993: 122–3). In these, the interrogative word stands independently before the relative clause introduced by the relative particle *a;* this is illustrated by Mac Eoin (1993:122) as follows:

(36) Cé a thabharfas?
'Who will give?' [lit. 'who that will give?']

(37) Cé an áit a bhfaca tú é?
'Where did you see it?' [lit. 'where the place that saw you it?']

The same pattern and order of elements is preserved in indirect WH-questions despite its leading to a rather complex structure:[4]

(38) Chuir sé ceist cé a thabharfas.
'He asked who will give.'

(39) Chuir sé ceist cé an áit a bhfaca tú é.
'He asked where you saw it.'

The foregoing discussion has made it evident that the patterns of inversion found in HE indirect questions have close parallels in Irish. In the case of the Yes/No type the correspondence is direct, whereas in WH-questions it is embedded under an additional layer consisting of the relative clause structure. This may well account for the generally less frequent use of inversion in HE WH-questions noted above and also for the greater degree of variation in usage as compared with the Yes/No questions.[5]

7.3.3 Embedded inversion in other varieties of English

In the light of the discussion so far, the Irish background to the HE indirect questions would seem beyond any doubt, and hence, no further inquiry would seem to be required. However, as in so many other cases, a mere noting of parallels does not suffice to confirm contact-induced change. In this particular case, one has to reckon with the possibility of dialect diffusion from other nonstandard varieties of English and also with some other factors which I will discuss further below. As Harris (1993:168) points out, HE shares this feature with many types of nonstandard English. He does not give examples from other varieties, but they are not hard to come by. Thus, Beal (1993:204) notes the same tendency in Tyneside English and illustrates this by the following examples drawn from McDonald's (1980) study of Tyneside English:

(40) She once asked me did it interfere with me. (McDonald 1980:15; cited in Beal 1993:204)

(41) When he discovered I wasn't at school he wanted to know what was the matter. (McDonald 1980:15; cited in Beal 1993:204)

Beal also refers to Scots and Irish (English) as varieties which exhibit the same feature (Beal 1993:204). The existence of similar patterns in Scottish English is documented by Miller (1993), who states that the Scots system of not differentiating between direct and indirect questions has found its way into Scottish English, for example:

(42) I can't remember now what was the reason for it. (Miller 1993:126)

(43) You sort of wonder is it better to be blind or deaf. (Miller 1993:126)

Unfortunately, Edwards (1993), describing the grammar of Southern British English in the same volume (Milroy and Milroy 1993), does not discuss word order in indirect questions at all, but we can look for further evidence of the geographical spread of this feature on the basis of other studies. And interestingly, the same phenomenon of inversion is found in Welsh English. It is pointed out by Edwards and Weltens (1985:121) as a feature found in Ireland and South Wales. The WE usage is confirmed by Thomas (1994:138; see also Thomas 1997), according to whom inverted word order 'appears to derive from the structure of Welsh, in which the order of the verb and what immediately follows it is always identical in direct questions and their related indirect ones'. His examples are:[6]

(44) I'm not sure is it true or not? (Thomas 1994:138)

(45) I wouldn't know would there be any there now. (Thomas 1994:138)

Given that the geographical spread of embedded inversion, as we have followed it so far, points to a predominantly Celtic and northern English and Scottish direction, it should not be surprising to find the same feature in HebE, and this is indeed the case. Sabban (1982) devotes a whole chapter to a discussion of indirect question patterns in HebE, giving numerous examples of inverted order in both Yes/No questions and WH-questions. These two types are illustrated by (46) and (47):

(46) She asked my mother had she any cloth. (25.I.415; cited in Sabban 1982:466)

(47) But he was telling me he didn't know how did he manage it? (51.611; cited in Sabban 1982:463)

The same feature was well represented in my Tiree database:

(48) And I was asking Hector here *did he heard* the song. (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(49) I don't know *is he coming* to Tiree now, Domhnall Iain MacLeod, the Hearach. (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: H.K.)

(50) […] and as I told already I asked him *has he got* water in the house and […] (SA 1970/93/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(51) I wonder where *is that Harris boy* now? (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

The evidence from HebE, combined with that from HE and WE, lends important support to the substratum account. In view of the similarity between the Celtic substrata on this particular point of syntax, the prominence of inversion in the varieties of English at issue can hardly be a coincidence.

The overall picture obtained so far is also indirectly confirmed by the data from my southwestern BrE corpus and from the SED materials representing the West Midlands and northern dialects. In all these corpora, there was only one instance of an indirect question with inversion out of a total of 46 indirect questions. That, too, involved the interrogative *what* in a position where it could easily be interpreted as the subject of the subordinate clause:

(52) [Crown green? Level?]
Level, no, crown—I don't know what's a crown green, is a crown green […] (SED/Yorkshire: Golcar)

Whether the same preference for no inversion can be generalised to the other traditional dialects awaits further corpus-based study, but the paucity of inverted word order in even the northern dialects such as Yorkshire is noteworthy, as it seems to confine this feature to the very northernmost dialects (like Tyneside), Scottish English, HebE and WE. The SED questionnaire findings in fact give some support to this, too. Thus, the responses to questions like the following two (Items IX.9.2 and IX.9.3) had no inversion in clearly over 90 per cent of the cases:

(53) You see a dog chasing your sheep, and you know it's not yours, so you wonder…*whose* it is. (SED Basic Material, Item IX.9.2)

(54) You have something to give away and before deciding on the person to be given it, you might ask yourself: I wonder…*to whom* I shall give it? (SED Basic Material, Item IX.9.3)

These results are not, however, directly comparable to those obtained on the basis of corpus-based studies: as Sabban (1982:476) points out, it cannot always be decided whether the SED informants intended their responses to be in the form of direct or indirect speech. At any rate, the evidence discussed so far suffices to outline the general dialectal distribution of the pattern with inversion. This distribution reduces the likelihood of embedded inversion being a result of dialect diffusion or conservatism in HE or in the other mentioned varieties.

As mentioned above, there are other factors to be reckoned with apart from dialect diffusion. One possibility would be to explain inversion in indirect questions as something which is typical of nonstandard or colloquial usage, regardless of the variety. Thus, Jespersen (1974a, § 2.4(8)) points out that this feature is common enough in Modern English colloquial speech. Curme (1931:

247–8) associates it with 'colloquial and popular speech' but also mentions its especially common use in 'popular Irish English'. Sabban (1982:473–5), relying on studies by Wolfram and Fasold (1974) and McDavid and Card (1973), notes the frequent use of the inverted patterns in American English colloquial speech, although in the American context, too, this feature appears to be more common in various regional and nonstandard varieties like Appalachian English, Southern White English, and interestingly, Vernacular Black English.

The prominence of inverted indirect questions in various nonstandard varieties opens the further possibility that this feature could be explained in terms of universals of first- and second-language acquisition, i.e. as something which is characteristic of 'learner-language'. Of the sources consulted by Sabban (1982), McDavid and Card (1973) adopt this position: according to them, the rules of inversion may prove too difficult for some speakers and they therefore opt for (what McDavid and Card consider) the 'simple' form of direct questions (McDavid and Card 1973:105; cited in Sabban 1982:477–8). As Sabban (1982:478) remarks, it is arguable whether the standard indirect form is any more complex than the direct one, which—when occurring in embedded position in dialectal usage—may even involve the auxiliary *do* as in McDavid and Card's example *John asked Mary did she go to the movies last night*.

Perhaps the weightiest factor speaking against the learner-language hypothesis is the lack of embedded inversion in English-based creoles. For example, Holm (1988:214) writes that English-based creoles (such as Jamaican Creole English) do not exhibit inversion in embedded questions but rather follow the standard English word order in these contexts. This is not surprising in view of the old observation that creoles do not use inversion of the subject and the auxiliary to form questions in general (see, e.g. Bickerton 1981:70; Holm 1988:212). As an exception, Holm (1988:214) mentions the 'post-creole' case of American Black English, which optionally allows inversion in embedded questions and is thus similar to HE in this respect. He refers to possible earlier influence from HE, suggested by Rickford (1986), but mentions the possibility of decreolisation as an alternative account. At any rate, the lack of embedded inversion in creole Englishes undermines the plausibility of the view that the pattern with inversion could be considered somehow less complex than the ones without it. The 'learner-language' hypothesis is further undermined by the evidence from language acquisition studies: as Bickerton (1981:187–91) points out, children acquiring English at first distinguish Yes/No questions from affirmative statements only by a rising intonation contour, and in the case of WH-questions, by a sentence-initial WH-word. Consequently, the evidence from creoles and early language-acquisition does not shed any new light on the case at hand.

7.3.4 Earlier English parallels

There is plenty of evidence to show that inversion in indirect questions was not uncommon in earlier stages of English. According to Visser (1963–73:780–

1), this feature is already found in OE texts but 'instances do not seem to occur with great frequency before the eighteenth century'. This is reflected in his collection of examples, too: having cited one example from OE, he skips on to the end of the fifteenth century (Malory), from there on to the end of the next century (Spenser), and then as far ahead as the early nineteenth century (Scott), after which he cites several examples from various authors (including James Joyce). Jespersen (1974a, § 2.4(8)) gives an even later date for the increased use of embedded inversion: according to him, it does not become prominent until the mid-nineteenth century. Visser (1963–73:780) notes the commonness of the inverted order in 'Anglo-Irish', but against the view expressed by his source on this matter, Schlauch (1959), Visser holds that it can hardly be considered a 'trait of Anglo-Irish' or even a case of inverted word order in that dialect. However, the existence of well-established parallels in other varieties such as ScE and WE confirms that we are here dealing with a fully grammaticalised pattern with inversion, rather than with occasional slips from indirect speech into direct speech, which is evidently what Visser has in mind. The distinction between direct and indirect speech is relatively easy to ascertain in the case of spoken language where, besides the choice of pronoun subjects, one can rely on various prosodic cues provided by especially intonation and pauses.

Yet another piece of evidence to show that Visser's interpretation of the facts about 'Anglo-Irish' is untenable is the frequent incidence of inverted indirect questions in the mid-nineteenth century letters. The following letter sent in 1865 from Galway to a shipping agent in Liverpool serves as an illustration:

(55) Dear Sir i am writing to you to let you know that i am to embark on the 24th. day of September in which i hope your amiable Honour will be sure to keep room for me in the ship there is a friend of mine to be along with me that day a young Girl and she wants to know how much *will you charge* her from liverpool to newyork and herself to buy 1/2 provision please to write to me sir *will you keep* room for her in the ship, i am told that there are very sharp people in liverpool. i want to know how *will i know* them sir i remain your obedient servant Michael Kililea (*The Grimshaw Papers,* No. 6, 1865; National Library of Ireland MS 15,784)

That these are instances of indirect questions with inversion seems beyond any doubt. By comparison, the distinction between direct and indirect questions is not at all so straightforward in the English texts written in the earlier periods. As Visser (1963–73:780–1) himself points out, there was a lot of variation in the representation of what he terms 'reported questions' in the literature up until recent times: in some cases the initial letters could be printed in capitals; in others small letters were used along with various punctuation marks to separate direct questions from reported ones; there was also little consistency in the use of the question mark. The chequered printing practices of the earlier centuries

make it sometimes hard to draw the line between direct and indirect questions, and this is of course of some importance when trying to trace possible superstratal parallels for the HE usage. Thus, while the two examples cited by Visser (ibid.) from Malory, given in (56) and (57), and possibly also the one from Spenser, in (58), would appear to be similar to the HE usage, the more recent ones from Scott and Thackeray, given in (59) and (60), are best described as representations of direct speech despite some modifications typical of indirect speech:

(56) He asked hir…whos was the child within her body. (1470–85 Malory, Wks. (Vinaver) 10)

(57) I wonder where did he go? (1470–85 Malory, Wks. (Vinaver) 16)

(58) She then the Cities sought from gate to gate, And everyone did aske, did he him see. (1590–6 Spenser, F.Q. III, 6, 14)

(59) he could not help asking, 'Was it far to the end of their journey?' (1814 W.Scott, Waverley (Tauchn.) 115)

(60) Captain Dobbin had not seen George. 'He was with his sister, most likely,' the Captain said. 'Should he go and fetch the truant?' (1847 Thackeray, Van. F. (Everym.) 106)

In order to check to what extent indirect questions show inverted order in the EModE period, which gets a very thin coverage in Visser's database, I have again conducted a survey based on the EModE section of the Helsinki Corpus. The searches were limited to those four matrix verbs which were the most common in the HE corpus (and to their interrogative uses only), namely *know, ask, see,* and *wonder*. The relative proportions of inverted order for each subperiod are given in Table 7.3. Note that the figures include all questions introduced by the mentioned verbs, regardless of whether they should actually be considered representations of direct speech (see the discussion below).[7] However, as in the case of HE, those instances were excluded where the interrogative word functioned as the subject of the subordinate clause.

Table 7.3 Frequencies of inversion in indirect questions introduced by *know, ask, see,* and *wonder* in the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus

Period	*Inversion*	*No inversion*	N	*% Inversion*
EModE I (1500–1570)	7	46	53	13.2
EModE II (1570–1640)	1	71	72	1.4
EModE III (1640–1710)	9	92	101	8.9
EModE total	17	209	226	7.5

The figures in Table 7.3 confirm Visser's statement about the relative rarity of inversion in indirect questions in pre-eighteenth-century English. In fact, inversion turns out to be extremely rare in EModE when one considers the contexts in which it occurred in the Corpus: of the 17 instances, as many as 15 involved the verb *ask,* while the remaining two were introduced by *see*. There were no tokens with *know,* which was the most common matrix verb to trigger inversion in the HE corpus. The majority of the inverted patterns were found in records of trials, sermons, or educational treatises, and most of them, especially the ones occurring in records of trials, raise problems of delimitation. For example, the following instances from the records of the trials of Lady Alice Lisle and Titus Oates (see Kytö 1991 for details) could just as well—and probably more naturally bearing in mind that *ask* is a 'performative' verb—be classified as representing direct speech either on the grounds of punctuation, the use of capitals or the question mark:

(61) […] I ask you again, Did not Carpenter meet you before you left Hicks and Nelthorp? (E3 XX TRI LISLE IV, 115C1)

(62) L.C.J.Dost thou believe we think any body thrust thee in: Did he light thee in, I ask thee? (E3 XX TRI LISLE IV, 115C1)

(63) Oates. My Lord, I desire to ask her, how did she know it was the same Ireland that was try'd? (E3 XX TRI OATES IV,85.C1)

There were only three instances in the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus which superficially corresponded to the present-day practice of being directly linked with the matrix clause without a comma and a question mark. They occurred in the works of John Locke, George Fox, and Nicholas Udall (see Kytö 1991):

(64) For the time must come when they will be past the rod and correction, and then if the Love of you make them not obedient and dutifull, if the Love of vertue and reputation keepe them not in laudible courses, I aske what hold will you have then upon them to turne them to it. (E3 IS EDUC LOCKE 55)

(65) And ye p(r)esbyterians deceitfully woulde come & aske ffreindes where was G: ffox now: & wee woulde have ye […] (E3 NN BIA FOX 155)

(66) That thou canst not see where lieth thine high preferment;…(E1 XX COME UDALL L. 1111)

In the light of this evidence, it can hardly be argued that EModE could have been the primary source for the HE usage. Although evidence from written texts is necessarily limited and must be treated with caution, it suffices in this case to show that inversion in indirect questions was a very marginal feature of EModE grammar.

Before concluding the discussion on the superstratal parallels, mention must be made of some attempts at explaining embedded inversion in HE (and in other varieties exhibiting this feature) as a reflection of the more general 'verb-second' (V2) properties of English and other Germanic languages. In the field of HE studies, this line of argumentation was perhaps first proposed in McCloskey (1991, 1992), and is further pursued, e.g. in Corrigan (1997b). Briefly, a language or a variety is said to observe the 'V2 constraint' if the finite verb (typically) occupies the second constituent position of a declarative main ('root') clause. McCloskey (1992:1), although he acknowledges the general view that V2 is 'canonically a root phenomenon', seeks to explain the facts about HE imbedded inversion in terms of the V2 constraint or 'embedded I°-to-C° fronting', as he terms it.[8] A central element in McCloskey's account is his claim that embedded V2 phenomena are possible in HE in exactly those situations which also allow 'adjunction' of adverbial elements to a complement clause. This correlation is illustrated in (67a–e) taken from McCloskey (1992:16):

(67a) Ask your father when he gets home does he want his dinner.

(67b) I was wondering next Christmas would he come home.

(67c) Do you remember when they were in Derry did they live in Rosemount?

(67d) I've never found out if I'd asked him would he really have come with me.

(67e) Did he tell you when he was young how did he do it?

In other words, McCloskey considers embedded inversion to be possible in HE only after a certain set of verbs which also permit adverbials to occur in their complement clauses. It is this feature of HE embedded V2 structures which, among some other factors not relevant in this context, leads McCloskey to argue that we are here dealing with some kind of 'embedded matrix clauses': the embedded clause forms the most important part of the sentence and, semantically and pragmatically, functions as a request for information just like questions expressed in the form of matrix clauses (McCloskey 1992:19).

While McCloskey's claim concerning the pragmatic force of embedded inversion is undoubtedly true for some cases, it cannot be generalised to all instances: some of the examples cited from my HE corpus above make it clear that embedded inversion may occur in a purely narrative context without implying

a request for information (witness the examples in (27)–(29)). This, incidentally, also holds for HebE embedded inversion: as Sabban (1982:474) states, not all of the HebE uses count as requests for information but are rather assertions of facts. Another problem with McCloskey's account is the status of examples such as those in (67): at least on the basis of my data, embedded structures involving adverbial adjunction with embedded V2 are extremely rare in actual discourse (in fact, there were none in my HE corpus). A third point of difference between our sets of data concerns McCloskey's contention that embedded V2 is generally not possible in HE in the complement of the verb *know,* unless the matrix clause is itself interrogative; it is only 'marginally possible' according to him if the matrix clause involves negation, as in (68) cited by McCloskey (1992:34):

(68) ?I don't know would they do such a thing.

Again, this may be compared with my examples in (27) and (29), which both have *know* in its negative form, and with (55) from the nineteenth-century letter, which has even affirmative (infinitival) instances of *know* (involving, however, requests for information). Recall also that *know* was the most frequent verb in my corpus to trigger embedded inversion. That embedded inversion is not subject to the kind of selection restrictions discussed by McCloskey is corroborated by other studies, too (see, especially, Harris 1993:168; A.Henry 1995:107; Corrigan 1997b:268). What is also noteworthy is A.Henry's observation that embedded inversion can occur in Belfast English in complement clauses which do not allow adjunction of adverbials: thus a sentence like *We couldn't establish did he meet them* is acceptable, but **We couldn't establish last month did he meet him* is not (see A.Henry 1995:107 for further examples).

More important than the lexical selection restrictions, though, is the difference which seems to obtain between HE and Irish with respect to adverbial adjunction in embedded V2 structures. Corrigan (1997b:246) points out that adjunction of adverbials to the complement is ungrammatical in Irish, which she takes to mean that Irish is not a V2 language and cannot therefore be the source of embedded V2 phenomena in HE. Corrigan's account is open to a number of counterarguments. First, on the basis of the data from actual discourse adverbial adjunction is at best a peripheral feature and cannot be given too much weight in assessing the possibility of substratal influence; besides, the correlation between embedded inversion and adverbial adjunction has turned out to be less than complete (see A.Henry's examples above). Second, what seems to me to strongly suggest substratal transfer is the fact that Irish has verb-raising in both root and embedded clauses, whereas in English V2 phenomena are largely restricted to root contexts. This is also true of the earlier stages of English, as is shown, e.g. by the extensive discussion in Stockwell (1984). He explores the possible reflexes of the Old English 'verb-second rule' throughout the history of English; of the five different classes of putative V2 phenomena

(with their various subclasses) none occurs in embedded contexts. Considering all these facts, it is doubtful whether HE embedded inversion could be interpreted as a reflex of the Germanic V2 constraint at all.[9]

7.3.5 Conclusion

In the light of the evidence discussed above, the case for Irish substratum influence on HE indirect questions looks very strong. The geographical distribution of the pattern with inversion in the British Isles, the existence of parallels in all relevant Celtic substrata, and, in the Irish context, the observed differences between HE dialects provide clear indications of substratum influence as the principal source of this feature not only in HE but in HebE and WE, too.[10] An important factor speaking against conservatism and dialect diffusion as the primary source is the peripheral status of this pattern in EModE and in present-day conservative BrE dialects; another piece of evidence to the same effect is the higher frequency of use in the rural HE varieties as compared with Dublin speech. This last difference also shows that the HE usage cannot simply be explained as a colloquialism or as a feature of 'popular' speech, as has been suggested by some writers. Similarly, the evidence from language-acquisition studies does not support the learner-language hypothesis, which seeks to explain embedded inversion as a universal tendency towards simplification in first- and second-language acquisition situations.

7.4 Failure of negative attraction

As Harris (1984a:305; see also 1993:170–1) states, negative attraction is a phenomenon of StE which concerns the behaviour of so-called nonassertive pronouns or determiners such as *any* under negation: whenever such a pronoun/ determiner is in subject position, the negative particle is 'attracted' to it, instead of the usual position after the verb. Thus, negating a structure like *anyone goes* yields *no-one goes,* and not **anyone doesn't go,* which fails to observe the rule of negative attraction and is therefore ungrammatical in StE (Harris 1984a:305). But, as Harris points out, in some varieties of HE this rule does not always apply, and structures such as *anyone doesn't go* can occur (ibid.; 1993:171). This phenomenon will in the following be labelled 'failure of negative attraction' (FNA).[11]

7.4.1 FNA in HE dialects

Harris's observation is confirmed by the data from the HE corpus, although failure of negative attraction appears to be rather infrequent at least in the four dialects represented in my database. There were only half a dozen instances of structures containing *any/anybody/anyone/anything* in subject position within the scope of negation, and they all occurred in the Kerry and Clare corpora. Illustrative examples are given in (69)–(71):[12]

(69) There is great pity for this = what they call the students now, but I'd have no pity for them, because = they're only howling for a good time, = howling […] *Any* country could*n't* stand that. (Kerry: M.C.)
'No country could stand that.'

(70) 'We'll, we'll go down er = we'll go down over the wall. And *anybody* wo*n't* know where we = where we went, whether they'd see us or not. We'll go down over the wall,' he said. (Kerry: M.McG.)
'And nobody will know…'

(71) Now = a = *anything* is *no* sin. = But I think myself = that the day's coming fast = in every one of us, = when we'll know whether it is a sin or not. (Kerry: M.C.)
'Now nothing is a sin.'

Rare as the FNA seems to be in actual usage, it is not confined to the indefinite pronoun/determiner *any* but can also occur with the universal quantifier *every(body)*. Consider (72) from the Kerry corpus and (73) from the Wicklow one, which also contained a couple of instances of this pattern:

(72) Places swarm with tourist' now. = Well, you see, it is like this = I s'pose, *everybody don't* benefit by tourist at all, you know. (Kerry: M.C.)
'…not everybody benefits…'

(73) There seems, people seem to have a = a fair share of money, and getting on […] Though, I say, you know, we don't, hmh, err, err, *everybody* does*n't* use it to a good advantage, I s'pose. (Wicklow: M.K.)
'…not everybody uses it to a good advantage…'

The universal quantifier *all* could be expected to behave similarly, but the HE corpus contained only one occurrence of *all* in this type of negative context. As can be seen in (74), it complied with the standard pattern, i.e. the negative particle preceded the quantifier:[13]

(74) And-a = oh, they do*n't all* go to Caherciv' =, that side at all, but = oh, a lot of people that have tractors, they take th' animals with 'm to Caherciveen […] (Kerry: M.McG.)

The HE corpus contained no occurrences of FNA with other indefinite pronouns or adverbs, such as *either, another,* or *ever,* which have been found to occur in some other varieties (see section 7.4.3).

The geographical distribution of FNA among HE dialects is interesting: as mentioned, all of the occurrences involving *any* and its variants were recorded from the two (south)western varieties. The small number of tokens in the HE corpus may reflect the general rarity of this feature in actual present-day usage, but on the other hand, my data lend some support to Harris's (1984a) observation which links FNA and another construction known as 'subordinating *and*' (see section 8.3 for discussion) with 'conservative rural speech in predominantly or residually bilingual areas'.

Despite its rather conspicuous nature, failure of negative attraction has not received much attention in the literature on HE. Of the earliest writers, Hayden and Hartog are the only ones to comment on it. However, from their description one can gather that it was a regular feature of HE at the turn of the century:

> "Any" is *constantly* used in IE [Irish English] as the subject of a negative sentence: "Any of them would not go for the doctor"; "at all" may be added: "Any of them at all," &c.
>
> (Hayden and Hartog 1909:940; my emphasis—M.F.)

It is worth noting in this connection that, contrary to the expectation raised by Hayden and Hartog's account, failure of negative attraction appears to be non-existent in the earliest HE texts and also in the nineteenth-century letters and other texts.

In more recent research, Lunny has observed the same type of usage in the speech of bilingual speakers in Ballyvourney, Co. Cork. His examples include sentences like *Anyone doesn't go to mass there, Anyone would have no view of it,* and *Any young boy or girl wasn't going into any public house* (Lunny 1981:140). Besides Lunny's observations and Harris's work mentioned above, Duffield (1993, 1995) notes failure of negative attraction in HE. Duffield, whose main focus is on similar phenomena in Irish syntax, seeks to relate the HE facts to universal constraints on so-called 'negative polarity items' (NPIs), such as *any* and its variants in the above examples, and their 'licensing' conditions. According to Duffield, HE presents problems for the general theory of NPI licensing because it, along with languages like Irish, French, and Japanese, allows NPIs to occur in subject position where they cannot be 'c-commanded' by the negation word (as is normally required), which appears to the right of the NPI (for Duffield's proposed amendment of the theory, see Duffield 1995:201–2).

7.4.2 Substratal parallels

From the contact-linguistic perspective, an obvious explanation for the HE usage is to be found in the similar behaviour of Irish expressions containing negation either with the indefinite determiner *aon* 'any' or its universal counterpart *gach aon* 'every'. As Harris (1984a:305) states, the Irish negative particle *ní*/

níor always stays in a position before the verb and is not attracted to an indefinite subject. Furthermore, the indefinite subject retains the same form in both affirmative and negative contexts. The failure of negative attraction in Irish, Harris (1984a:305) argues, has then 'in all likelihood' been carried over to some types of HE (for a similar view, see Lunny 1981:140). Harris's illustration of the HE and Irish patterns is given in (75) (Harris 1984a:305):

(75) Anyone wasn't at home.

Ní	raigh	aon	duine	sa bhaile.
neg	BE+past	any	person	in-the home

Duffield's (1993, 1995) analysis of the facts of Irish and HE also lends indirect support to the substratum hypothesis, although he is not concerned with the question of Irish substratum influence on HE. Thus he notes the ambiguity caused by the Irish universal quantifiers in negative expressions, for example:

(76) Ní tháinig gach aon duine.
NEG came every person
'Everyone didn't come/Not everyone came.' (Duffield 1995:135, fn. 52)

7.4.3 Comparisons with other varieties

Yet another factor which has to be considered here is the attestation of the failure of negative attraction in some other varieties of English. Not surprisingly, this feature is found in the northern parts of the British Isles. Thus Beal (1993:198) records the same usage for Tyneside speech and also mentions *either, ever,* and *another* as pronouns which may fail to trigger negative attraction in that dialect. She points out the possibility of Irish (English) influence on Tyneside speech, as well as on nonstandard dialects of English in general (Beal 1993:198–9). Miller (1993), writing on Scottish English, discusses the failure of negative attraction with the universal quantifiers *all, each,* and *every,* but does not comment on the indefinite pronouns/determiners. However, J.Derrick McClure and Caroline Macafee (personal communication) confirm that the latter, too, sometimes fail to attract negation in Scots and ScE. HebE follows the same pattern, as is shown by the following examples from my Tiree database:

(77) 'Don't touch it. And if you take my advice *any* of youse that will be here do*n't* touch it.' (SA 1970/97/B/Tiree: H.K.)[14]

(78) [How did you make that?] Oh just you were putting on the pot with water in it and *every* kind of fish wouldn't make soup at all. (SA 1969/157/B/Tiree: D.S.)

The geographical spread of the FNA is indirectly confirmed by the lack of occurrences in my databases from other dialects, including the southwestern and Yorkshire dialects.[15] This is yet another consideration speaking for the substratal origin, which in the light of the evidence discussed above seems to me the most likely source of this feature of HE.

8

THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will discuss selected features which are not confined to the clausal level but have the 'complex sentence' or the 'superordinate clause' as their domain.[1] As a rule, the HE patterns of complex sentences correspond to those found in other dialects of English, but there are some which exhibit features possibly based on the model of Irish. One such feature is the use of so-called 'resumptive pronouns' in relative and also other types of clauses. These will be discussed in section 8.2. Another distinctive trait of HE grammar concerns sentence or clause connection: the predominant linking device is *and,* which besides the usual coordinate function can introduce subordinate structures. The latter will be the topic of section 8.3. Another pair of conjunctions which can be argued to have special functions (or at least more extensive uses) in HE consists of *only* and *but,* which will be examined in section 8.4.

Features which cannot be investigated within the bounds of this work include, first, the so-called 'Narrative Infinitive', examples of which are given in (1) and (2). The first example is taken from the HE corpus, while the second is from a nineteenth-century emigrant letter. This use of the infinitive has been attributed to the influence of Irish, which has the verbal noun in these kinds of contexts (for discussion, see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988:45–6; van Hamel 1912: 279; Henry 1957:188–90; Bliss 1984a:147–8). On the basis of my data at least, the Narrative Infinitive is relatively infrequent in present-day dialects and is probably a recessive feature.

(1) If you, if you was there now, you had a son, = an' your daughter would have gone away, = you know, you'd to be a good thing, *he to get* a wife, like, to = run the house with him, you see. (Clare: J.N.)

(2) I was very sorry to hear of you to let your old chapel to be chifted [i.e. shifted] to (Ballydafeen). O poor Derry [the townland of Caheraderry in Co. Clare] is gone and *to let them crow* over yea. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 12, 1862; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:90)

Another notable omission is the *for to* + infinitive construction, which is illustrated in (3) and (4) from the HE corpus, and in (5) from a nineteenth-century letter:

(3) I think it was a penny or a halfpenny we used to bring to school *for to see* the Punch an' Judy Show. (Dublin: P.L.)

(4) And it took them fifteen years *for to beat* him out of it [a horse race]. (Wicklow: J.N.)

(5) I was *sorry for to hear* the death of Mr. O Connors: but it is all our fate to dye. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 3, 1855; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:74)

Like the Narrative Infinitive, the *for to* + infinitive construction has long been known to be part of HE grammar. While, for example, Hayden and Hartog (1909:777) treat it under the heading of 'antiquated syntax', i.e. as a survival from earlier English, Joyce (1910/1988:51) draws a parallel between this construction and the corresponding Irish structure involving the preposition *le* or *chum* (or *chun*) 'for (the purpose of)'. However, Joyce also acknowledges the existence of the same feature in 'English peasant language' (1910/1988:51). In the most recent reasearch, the *for to* + infinitive construction has received fresh attention, and it is possible that some aspects of this construction are peculiar to HE dialects (see, especially, Henry 1995; Corrigan 1997b).

8.2 Resumptive pronouns and adverbs in relative and other clauses

Relative clauses in HE dialects generally follow patterns which are familiar from many other dialectal forms of English: the predominant relative pronoun is *that,* while WH-forms are rare. Also common is the so-called 'zero-relative' or 'contact clause', i.e. omission of the object or even subject relative pronoun (for general discussion, see especially Harris 1993:148–51; Doherty (no date); see also Taniguchi 1972:33–8 for a description of relatives in literary texts). As mentioned, however, these features are attested in other dialectal or nonstandard varieties outside Ireland, and although the apparently greater frequencies of use of the contact clause in HE than in other varieties (see Taniguchi 1972:34–5 for statistics on the frequencies of zero-relatives in written language in different varieties) suggest Irish as a possible source for this particular feature, its influence must be secondary only, considering the widespread nature of the same feature in other varieties (see, e.g. Edwards and Weltens 1985:116; Montgomery 1989:244).[2]

What are of greater interest from the contact-linguistic point of view are certain types of relative clauses and also other structures which contain what

have come to be known as 'resumptive pronouns' or 'shadow pronouns'. I will begin with a description of the contexts in which resumptive pronouns (RP) occurred in the HE corpus. Previous works on this topic will also be briefly surveyed in the next section.

8.2.1 Tracing the contexts of use of resumptive pronouns

Most of the RPs in the HE corpus were found in relative clause structures, which are illustrated in (6)–(9):

(6) It [i.e. Irish] is a kind = it was a kind of a language, a = at least it is now, err = = that people would be more or less ashamed to speak it. (Kerry: M.C.)

(7) No, there wasn't any old singers in it, no. No, 'twas = 'twasn't a townland that there was too much, too much err = amusement at all *in it,* d'you know. (Clare: M.F.)

(8) And there was a holy well = is a holy well there where the people go = on pilgrimage *to it,* […] (Kerry: M.C.)

(9) They jumped banks that time on the race-course = that they wouldn't hunt *over them* today. The young fellows is going now, wouldn't hunt over them. (Wicklow: D.M.)

Note that the adverb *there* can also be used in a similar fashion to 'resume' and reinforce the reference of the relative *where* at the head of the relative structure:

(10) But = the course was there in the sandhills of Lahinch, now, across from the golf-course, where the Sluagh hall is *there,* a grand flat, a grand, grand course. (Clare: F.K.)

(11) There was a = there was a place back there in a = {Aghollane?} they used to call it, where the = the fairies used to work *there.* (Kerry: C.D.)

Finally, I should mention a special case in which no resumptive pronoun is used but instead a noun fills that position at the end of the relative structure. The corpus contained only one such instance, in which the definite article could be understood to stand for a possessive pronoun (*the name* pro *its name*):

(12) There was a = another w' = schooner, which I can't recall *the name,* was washed in between the ESB Generating Stations and Pigeon House = and Blackrock. (Dublin: L.F.)

Other than relative clause structures can also occur with resumptive pronouns, although they are usually associated with relative structures only. The examples in (13)–(15) involve copular matrix clauses followed by an infinitive clause. This type corresponds to what Quirk *et al.* (1985:1394) label as 'The construction type *She's a pleasure to teach*'. In generative tradition, this kind of construction (without the resumptive pronoun) has come to be known as 'Tough Movement' (see, e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985:1395 Note) or, more recently, as one type of 'NP-Movement' (see, e.g. Haegeman 1991:269 ff.).

(13) The police, the fire-brigades. They were out of this world to look *at them*. Big brass helmet. (Dublin: P.L.)

(14) They had the = well, scad is rare to get *it* now. But err, I mean to say er = not as plentiful as before. = But it's nice fish to eat *it*. (Kerry: D.B.)[3]

(15) Oh, it [i.e. a fiddle] was crude deal to look at *it,* like, and he had no ins' = he wasn't a tradesman at all, only he to be handy. (Clare: C.O'B.)

To complete our survey of the contexts of use of RPs, consider examples (16) and (17). These are more marginal patterns, in which a resumptive pronoun is used at the end of an infinitive clause expressing purpose:

(16) And my father had an outside house in this farm that he had bought, and he gave 'im the place = or the house—the use of the house—for a few nights to stay *in it*. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(17) They might = gather up pound of butter or pound an' a half of that for = into the next churn for the children t'eat *that* = […] for their breakfast. (Kerry: M.C.)

In earlier research on HE, the use of RPs is mentioned by Joyce (1910/1988: 52–3), whose examples include *He looks like a man that there would be no money in his pocket; there's a man that his wife leaves him whenever she pleases*. Joyce attributes these to the parallel Irish structures, which in the latter case would be *fear dá d-tréigeann a bhean é* or…*a thréigeas a bhean é* (1910/1988:52). Here the pronoun *é* 'him' refers back to its antecedent noun *fear* 'a man' and, as it were, 'double-checks' that the reference will be properly taken up by the addressee. Henry (1957:209–10), in his discussion on 'the subordinate phrase' in Roscommon dialect, gives the following examples of relative clause structures, which according to him display 'possessive shading':

(18) …Some fellow that the graveyard was on his land.
'…on whose land the graveyard was.'

(19) …A herb that a root o'it was boiled.
'…whose root…'

Henry, too, considers this pattern to be modelled on the Irish constructions introduced by the particles *go* or *a* (Henry 1957:209). In the most recent research, the same HE phenomenon is discussed by Harris (1993:148–51) under the heading of relative clauses and what he terms 'shadow pronouns'. These occur in *that*-relative clauses in a way which makes them comparable to 'ordinary' subordinate clauses introduced by the conjunction *that*. Consider, for instance, the following examples cited by Harris (1993:150), which illustrate the different syntactic contexts in which 'shadow pronouns' are used:

(20) I'd say a lot of things that they're not right either, (subject relative)

(21) I thought they would put a steel door on that they couldn't have opened it. (object relative)

(22) Some fella that the graveyard was on his land, (prepositional relative)

Given that most of the HE scholars name Irish as the main source of HE RPs, it is appropriate to start our discussion of the origins of this usage by examining the possible substratal parallels.

8.2.2 Irish parallels

The Irish system of relative clauses—or rather, some aspects of it—does indeed provide an obvious model for the HE usages described above. Central in the Irish system is the distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' relatives, as described in detail in McCloskey (1979) and (1985). Although McCloskey's account falls within the framework of generative grammar, these terms are well established in the Irish grammatical tradition (see, e.g. the Christian Brothers (1960, 1976) and also an earlier treatment by O'Nolan (1920), who distinguishes between 'direct' and 'oblique' relatives). Briefly, McCloskey's account is based on the idea that a relativised constituent leaves either a pronoun— 'resumptive pronoun' in McCloskey's terminology, too—or a 'gap' at the site of relativisation inside the relative clause. The former represents the indirect option, while the latter is the direct one. In some situations there is a choice between these two, whereas in others only one or the other is possible. For example, the 'direct' relative (with the gap) is used when the subject of a clause is relativised; the use of the resumptive pronoun is impossible, as is shown by (23a and b) quoted from McCloskey (1985:63):

(23a) an fear$_j$ a bhí__$_j$ breoite

(23b) *an fear$_j$ a raibh sé$_j$ breoite
'the man that was ill'

In many other situations, however, a more or less free choice exists between the direct and indirect relatives. Consider, for instance, the following examples given in McCloskey (1985:61):[4]

(24a) an fear$_j$ a shábháil mé__$_j$

(24b) an fear$_j$ ar shábháil mé é$_j$
'the man that I saved'

(25a) an fear$_j$ a bhí mé a chuartú__$_j$

(25b) an fear$_j$ a raibh mé dhá$_j$ chuartú
'the man that I was looking for'

In both of these, the relativised constituent represents the direct object (although this is not so obvious in (25) because of the verbal noun construction used). In some cases, as McCloskey (1985:64) points out, the resumptive pronoun is used to avoid ambiguity. Thus, a structure like *an file a mhol na mic léinn* could mean both (26a) or (26b), and it is only the use of a resumptive pronoun that can resolve the ambiguity:

(26a) an file$_j$ a mhol__$_j$ na mic léinn
'the poet that praised the students'

(26b) an file$_j$ a mhol na mic léinn__$_j$
'the poet that the students praised'

Summarising the usage in direct object relatives, McCloskey (ibid.) states that the most common strategy is to use the gap unless ambiguities arise, in which case the resumptive pronoun is preferred to the gap.

From the point of view of the possible substratal source of the HE uses of resumptive pronouns, the most interesting contexts must be those in which the use of the resumptive pronoun is obligatory in Irish (and hence, no gap can occur). According to McCloskey (1985:65; see also 1979:6), these contexts include cases in which the relativised constituent is either an object of a preposition or a possessive modifier of an NP. These constraints on the use of gaps are illustrated by McCloskey (1985:65) as follows:

(27a) an fear$_j$ a raibh mé ag caint leis$_j$

(27b) *an fear a bhí mé ag caint le__$_j$
'the man that I was talking to'

(28a) a' bhuaidh$_j$ a dtiocfainn-se gan í

(28b) *a' bhuaidh$_j$ a thiocfainn-se gan__$_j$
'the gift that I would do without'

(29a) an fear$_j$ a bhfuil a$_j$ mhac san otharlann

(29b) *an fear$_j$ atá__$_j$ mac san otharlann
'the man whose son is in the hospital'

McCloskey explains these phenomena in terms of so-called 'syntactic island constraints', islands being certain types of complex syntactic structures which have been found to block various other syntactic operations apart from the use of gaps in relative clauses (for further discussion, see McCloskey 1985:65 ff.).

In the light of the facts about Irish relative clauses it would seem reasonable to conclude that the HE relative structures involving the use of resumptive pronouns are the result of substratum influence. The same could be argued for the other, non-relative, clauses described above. Thus, the examples of 'Tough Movement' given in (13)–(15) also have Irish parallels which permit resumptive pronouns. Consider, for instance, (30) and (31), which are cited in McCloskey (1990:239) as illustrations of the Irish 'Tough Movement' constructions:

(30) Bhí Ristéard doiligh cur suas leis [pro].[5]
was Richard difficult put-INF up with-3SNG-MASC
'Richard was hard to put up with (him).'

(31) Beidh an gasúr sin deacair fáil réitithe leis [pro].
be-FUT that-boy hard get-INF rid with-3SNG-MASC
'That boy will be hard to get rid of (him).'

The HE examples of infinitival purpose clauses given in (16) and (17) have likewise exact parallels in Irish. McCloskey includes what he terms 'infinitival relatives and purpose clauses' in his list of those constructions which permit resumptive pronouns in Irish. His examples are (McCloskey 1990:239):

(32) Ní rabh a'n duine aige le labhairt leis [pro].
NEG was anybody at-him to talk-INF with-3SNG-MASC
'He had nobody to talk to (him).'

(33) Bhí mórán aige le smaointeamh air [pro].
was a-lot at-him to think-INF on-3SNG-MASC
'He had a lot to think about (it).'

8.2.3 RPs in the HE corpus and in earlier HE texts

An additional factor supporting the substratum argument is the regional distribution of the uses of resumptive pronouns, although the figures are rather low and must therefore be treated with caution. Yet, the figures in Table 8.1 reveal the same overall pattern which has been found to emerge with remarkable consistency with respect to so many other features.

Resumptive pronouns are best in evidence in the two (south)western varieties, which in itself indicates a definite role for the Irish substratum. The small numbers are partially compensated for by the fact that in Clare and Kerry occurrences were recorded from all of the combined total of 11 speakers. It is also worth noting that a clear majority of the relative structures in the HE corpus occurred in contexts involving a prepositional phrase or the adverb *there* (13 tokens in all), whereas there were fewer occurrences of relativised objects being reduplicated by resumptive pronouns (5 tokens). This is exactly what could be expected on the basis of the corresponding substratal system. On the other hand, there was only one instance of a possessive modifier, cited in (12) above, and that did not contain a possessive pronoun but the definite article (which in that context, as was noted, fulfilled the same function).

The paucity of the possessive modifier type in the corpus does not mean that HE speakers would use *whose* either: in the whole of the HE corpus, there was only one instance of relative *whose*.[6] There is a clear preference for other relativisation strategies, including the 'contact clause' (i.e. omission of the relative word), and also what Harris (1993:149) has termed the 'quasi-relative' clause introduced by *and*. This is reflected in the general avoidance of all WH-forms. Thus, it is hardly surprising that there were no occurrences of *whom* in the HE corpus. The nominative *who* was likewise virtually non-existent in the rural dialects, while there were a number of tokens in the Dublin corpus. *Which* was slightly more common, and again, more frequently employed in the urban variety than in the rural ones. On the whole, *that* was by far the most often occurring relativisation device, construed either with or without RPs. In the light of the figures given in Table 8.1, the use of RPs must be considered a rather rare feature, which is most probably on the wane even in the western HE dialects.

Table 8.1 Frequencies of relative and other clauses containing resumptive pronouns

Area (size of corpus, words)	*Relative clause*	*Other*	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	5	4	9	3.0
Kerry (44,000)	10	3	13	3.0
Wicklow (42,000)	2	2	4	1.0
Dublin (42,000)	2	2	4	1.0
HE total (158,000)	19	11	30	1.9

Yet another piece of evidence to show that, despite its apparent rarity, the use of RPs is firmly rooted in the syntax of HE comes from some of the early HE texts. Consider the examples in (34) and (35), culled from the correspondence of a County Clare man who had emigrated to Australia in 1854 and kept up regular correspondence with his father back home.

(34) I am to inform you that I have a friend which I did not know *she* being in this Town until of late, Michael Healy's daughter from Ballanagun. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 4, 1855; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:76)

(35) Its a good luck to her that he left her a home that nobody can turn her *out of it*. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 5, 1856; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:77)

Examples like these also show that RPs are not merely a feature of spoken language but can occur in the written mode too.

8.2.4 RPs in other varieties and in earlier stages of English

What presents a potential threat to the substratum account is the fact that resumptive pronouns are known to occur in some other varieties of English besides HE. According to Miller (1993:111–12), they can be found in Scottish English in contexts which are very similar to those in HE. Thus, in (36) *that* + possessive pronoun is used instead of *whose,* while in (37) and (38) the 'shadow pronoun', as Miller calls it, or adverb is used instead of a relativised prepositional phrase (Miller 1993:111):

(36) the girl that her eighteenth birthday was on that day was stoned—couldnae stand up

(37) the spikes that you stick in the ground and throw rings over them

(38) an address which I hadn't stayed there for several years

The existence of this feature in Scottish English need not, however, exclude the possibility of substratum influence on the corresponding HE usage. As has been noted on several occasions above, HE and ScE share several other features, too, which may be explained either by diffusion through dialect contact (in one direction or the other) or by Celtic substratum influence on both varieties. As regards the use of resumptive pronouns, the latter seems to me the more likely alternative in view of the clear and well-established Celtic parallels. Scottish Gaelic has exactly the same distinction between direct and indirect relatives as Irish has. Consider, for instance, the examples in (39) and (40) provided by Gillies (1993:184–5; see also his discussion of relative clauses 1993:219):

(39) am fear a bha mi a' bruidhinn ris
'the man to whom I was talking' (lit. 'the man who I was talking to him')

(40) am fear a bha mi a' bruidhinn ri 'athair
'the man whose father I was speaking to' (lit. 'the man who I was speaking to his father')

On the basis of the Scottish Gaelic parallels, one could expect to find resumptive pronouns in HebE, too. Sabban (1982) does not discuss this feature, but my own database contained a couple of occurrences, given in (41) and (42):

(41) And my grandfather, my great-grandfather up there, where that house *up there* is, very seldom he was paying the rent. (SA 1970/95/A/ Tiree: D.S.)

(42) And I hope many's a good bottle you will serve and have a dram *out of it*. (SA 1969/157/B/Tiree: D.S.)

For reasons unclear to me, resumptive pronouns do not appear to be so frequent in HebE as in HE. In all other respects, though, the general profile of the HebE relative clause system is very similar to that of HE: *that* is the predominant relative pronoun at the expense of WH-pronouns; zero-relatives are also common as well as and-relatives, illustrated in (43):

(43) And there was a sheriff coming to the Island for the land work *and* they called him Brand. Sheriff Brand. (SA 1970/96/A/Tiree: H.K.)

The third major Celtic language spoken in the British Isles, Welsh, has also grammaticalised the use of resumptive pronouns in certain types of relative clauses. Watkins (1993:341) cites examples of relative-clause subordination by means of the particle *y(r),* which in the case of a prepositional or genitive relationship requires what he terms an 'anaphoric' pronoun in the subordinate clause:

(44) hwn yw'r dyn y gyrraist ei gar
this is-the man that drove-you his car
'this is the man whose car you drove'

(45) hwn yw'r dyn y siaradaist amdano
this is-the man that talked-you about-him
'this is the man whom you talked about'

Not surprisingly, the same feature occurs in WE dialects: Parry (1979:146),

reporting on the findings of The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects (SAWD), writes that *whose* is expressed 'periphrastically' by *that his* in *That's the chap that his uncle was drowned* (questionnaire item IX.9.8) at two locations in Dyfed/Cardiganshire. He compares this pattern with Welsh constructions of the type *Dyma'r dyn y canodd ei fab yn y côr,* literally 'This is the man that his son sang in the choir' (Parry 1979:146). That RPs are a feature of WE is also confirmed by Alan Thomas (personal communication).

The substratum hypothesis is further supported, albeit indirectly, by the general absence of resumptive pronouns from the other English dialect corpora that I have had available. No occurrences were found even in the Yorkshire corpus, or indeed, in the other material from the northern and West Midlands dialects, and there was no trace of this feature in the southwestern dialects, either. Note also that Beal (1993) does not mention this feature in her description of Tyneside and Northumbrian English. These findings are in some contrast to the data from the SED Basic Material. Unfortunately, only one of the questionnaire items is of direct relevance to the problem at hand.[7] This is Item IX.9.6 WHOSE UNCLE WAS DROWNED, which centres around the use of the possessive form *whose* in a sentence frame like *That man's uncle was drowned last week. In other words, you might say, that's the chap*…. The responses collected, for instance, from the six northernmost counties included forms such as *at/as/that his uncle was drowned,* although the majority favoured the standard form *whose uncle was drowned* (Orton *et al.* 1962–71:1085). Of the three variant forms involving the resumptive pronoun *his,* the forms *at his* and *that his* were mainly limited to the northern dialects, including the Isle of Man (9 and 8 responses in all, respectively). *As his uncle was drowned,* by contrast, turned out to be more widespread (56 responses), and was recorded especially in the southern, midland, and northwestern dialects.

Before concluding this section, I wish to tackle one more challenge to the substratum account, namely that offered by the earlier forms of English. As Traugott (1972:104) notes, the OE indeclinable relative *þe* sometimes allowed a personal pronoun to appear in the subordinate clause in order to avoid ambiguity. This kind of resumptive construction continued to be used in ME, where it was chiefly found in poetry and in contexts which involved several clauses (1972:157–8). Traugott's examples, given in (46) and (47), illustrate relativisation of the object and of the possessive modifier of an NP, respectively (1972:157):

(46) PL II.103.27 (1449) ever deseryng to her of yowr wurschupfull ustate, *the whiche* All myghte God mayntayne *hyt* 'ever desiring to hear of your worshipful condition, which (may) all mighty God maintain'

(47) PL V.321.33 with other dyveres (= 'different people') *that* I know not *ther* names.

The limitations on the use of what Traugott describes as the *Relative… Pronoun* structure become even more stringent in EModE (abbreviated as 'ENE' by Traugott), and besides being mainly a feature of poetry, as in ME, this construction is 'almost exclusively' confined to cases where 'several clauses or coordinates intervene' (Traugott 1972:157–8). From the point of view of the HE usage of resumptive pronouns, it is unlikely that the earlier superstratal parallels, archaic as they were by the EModE period, could have provided the only, or indeed, principal model for the Irish learners of English. This again suggests a clear role for the Irish substratum.

8.2.5 Conclusion

The close parallelism between the HE and Irish usages and the similar parallelisms between the other Celtic languages and the varieties of English spoken in, or close to, those areas are perhaps the most significant factors weighing the balance in favour of the substratum account. To these could be added the observed pattern of regional differentiation among HE dialects. However, as in so many cases before, the evidence is not conclusive enough to rule out one or the other source, and here, too, the possibility remains that some aspects of the use of RPs reflect those encountered in other nonstandard dialects of English. It has even been suggested that RPs reflect a universal tendency towards a more transparent relative clause structure, and that they are therefore a feature of any language at least in certain types of relative structures. One variant of this approach is the 'fast speech' hypothesis discussed by Miller in connection with his description of ScE usage. As Miller (1993:112–13) explains, this is a view which regards the use of RPs as an 'accident of fast speech'. As regards the ScE usage, Miller discards this hypothesis noting that 'the construction deserves more status' on the grounds that it is of long standing and is also met in other written languages, such as Hebrew and Modern Written Arabic (ibid.). The same can be said of its HE counterparts: RPs are a systematic, albeit recessive, feature of especially the (south)western HE dialects (which could hardly be said to represent 'fast speech' as compared with the other dialects!). What is more, at least in HE—and in all likelihood in ScE and WE, too—this construction reaches back into earlier stages of the dialect, as we have seen on the basis of the evidence from nineteenth-century written records. It is true, as Odlin (1989:102–3) notes, that there is some evidence from second- and foreign language acquisition studies which indicates that English learners of French, for example, accept structures with RPs even though they are not used in French (any more than in StE). Although this (and some other similar findings) seems to lend some support to the universalist account, its force is weakened by the results of other studies which show that, in general, learners whose native language has no RPs are less likely to resort to them in their target language than are those learners whose native language has grammaticalised RPs (see Odlin 1989:99–103 for further discussion).

8.3 Subordinating uses of *and*

In this section I will discuss another well-known feature of HE syntax which has traditionally been considered to have an Irish origin. Like Harris (1993), I will call it 'subordinating *and*', because this construction typically involves the use *of and to* introduce a subordinate (instead of the usual coordinate) clause, which furthermore lacks a finite verb.

8.3.1 Structural types and meanings of the 'subordinating and' *construction*

The subordinating and construction may be realised in different ways, depending on the form of the and-clause. First, it can consist of a nonfinite VP, which in turn may be either a present participle, as in (48), or a past participle, as in (49). Both are drawn from the HE corpus.

(48) I only thought of him there *and I cooking* my dinner. (Dublin: P.L.)
'…while I was cooking my dinner.'

(49) I often got them [pheasants] dead out in the middle of the field *and they not torn up* or anything. There wasn' a fox got them. (Wicklow: D.M.)

A second type has an adjective or a noun phrase in the predicate position, as in (50) and (51):

(50) 'Twas in harvest time *and the weather bad.* (Clare: F.K.)

(51) Well, I seen the time you'd buy a farm for = five or six hundred […] Seen farms selling *and I young lad.* (Wicklow: J.F.)

Third, the predicate of the *and*-clause may assume the form of a prepositional phrase as in (52) and (53):

(52) I heard the hens cacklin', I went over to see what it was, and here it was a fox *and he with a hen.* (Wicklow: J.F.)

(53) He said you could hear them [strange noises] yet, inside in his own house late at night *and he in bed.* (Clare: M.R.)

In these examples, as in all the other occurrences in my HE corpus, the *and*-clause follows its main clause. Rare though it seems to be, the reverse order has been documented, witness (54) provided by Terence Odlin (personal communication):[8]

(54) A nephew of mine was very sick in the hospital in Galway and I was goin' to the phone to find out how he was. *And I going* into the town of Ballygar a car pulled up beside me. It was Father Turby […] (Galway: J.N.)

Before turning to the semantics of subordinating *and,* one final formal feature deserves mention, namely occurrences of structures which involved *when* instead of *and i*n otherwise similar contexts. Consider the examples in (55) and (56), which exhibit the same general characteristics as those with *and* and can therefore be considered 'mesolectal' or 'hybrid' variants of the same pattern:

(55) […] indeed I walked it myself *when I young* […] All the way from here to Caherciveen with = with = with cattle and with sheep. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(56) I remember *when I going* to school = I remember three of my uncles went away = three o'm, three men an' an' an' an' = a girl, she went to = she an' most of her family went to America = *when I going* to school. (Kerry: M.McG.)

On the other hand, it could be argued that at least in some cases (as in the latter example above) we are simply dealing with an ellipsis of the copula or the auxiliary *be* rather than with a hybrid-like variant of the subordinating *and* construction (cf. however the discussion of previous research below).

Semantically, subordinating *and* expresses either a temporal relation of simultaneity or a relation of causal or concessive dependence between the actions or states of affairs expressed in the two clauses connected by *and.* The relation is subordinate rather than coordinate, which is revealed by trying to provide StE glosses for *and:* in most cases it would be *while, when,* or *although,* or a relative clause could replace the *and*-clause, as in (52) above.

8.3.2 Previous studies

Subordinating *and* has been amply documented in previous works. Thus, Hayden and Hartog (1909:935) describe it as 'an interesting Celtic locution'; they also note occasional replacement of *and* by *when,* which they consider a hybrid idiom (ibid.; cf. my examples in (55) and (56) above). Joyce (1910/ 1988:33) states that '[t]his, although very incorrect English, is a classic idiom in Irish, from which it has been imported as it stands into our English'. Van Hamel (1912:284–5) points out the general tendency of Irish to prefer the verbal noun constructions to conjunctions and, if a conjunction is used, the predominance of *agus* 'and' over other conjunctions in almost all types of subordinating clauses. This, as he claims, explains the 'Anglo-Irish' use of *and* instead of other conjunctions and even relative pronouns (ibid.).

Other scholars who have discussed subordinating *and* include, first, G.J. Visser (1955:279), who uses the term 'Absolute and-construction'. Henry (1957:206) writes that subordinating *and* 'is very idiomatic in Irish and seems un-English'. Similarly, Bliss (no date: 20) seems to be in no doubt as to the Irish origin of this construction. Subordinating *and* is also a salient feature in the works of Anglo-Irish writers, as has been shown by Taniguchi (1972:126–45). Boyle (1973:221–2), writing on the corresponding Irish construction, emphasises that the subordinating use of *agus* in Irish 'has no real parallel in English', while Harris (1984a:305) states that the HE construction is 'apparently unique to HE and is clearly a caique on the Irish adverbial structure *agus* + subject pronoun + *ag* + verbal noun'. He illustrates the close parallelism between HE and Irish in this respect by the following pair of examples (ibid.):

(57) HE: He fell and him crossing the bridge (i.e. '…while he was crossing the bridge').

Ir.: Thit sé agus é ag dul thar an droichead.
'Fall+PAST he and he (him) at go over the bridge.'

Similar parallelism is also discussed by Lunny (1981), who notes reflexes of the Irish tendency to use *agus* 'and' to the exclusion of other conjunctions in Ballyvourney dialect. Another writer to discuss the relationship between HE and Irish with respect to this feature is Ó Siadhail (1984), who, however, defends the 'independent growth' hypothesis (see below). Odlin (1992) and Corrigan (1997b) are among the most recent contributions, both of which subscribe to the substratum account (albeit on slightly different grounds). This brings us suitably to the Irish parallels, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

8.3.3 Subordinating uses of agus *in Irish*

Perhaps the most detailed descriptions of the Irish construction are provided by Boyle (1973), Ó Siadhail (1989), and Ó Baoill *alias* Boyle (1991). Boyle (1973) cites examples of the Irish usage which show that, besides the *ag* + verbal noun construction, as in Harris's example in (57), the predicate may also be an adjective, a 'prepositional pronoun' (i.e. a structure consisting of a preposition and a 'pronoun affix'), or a prepositional phrase with a noun head. These are exemplified by (58), (59) and (60), respectively (Boyle 1973:222–4):

(58) Tháinig Seán agus é ólta.
'Came John and him drunk', i.e. 'John came while in the state of drunkenness.'

(59) Tháinig Seán agus mála leis.

'John came and a bag with-him', i.e. 'John came and he had a bag with him.'

(60) Phós sé Albanach buí agus é san IRA.
'He married an orange girl and him in-the IRA', i.e. 'He married an orange girl while in the IRA.'

A further feature of the Irish system is that the *agus*-clause may precede the main clause in the same way as in the HE example in (54). Boyle's (1973:224) examples are:

(61) Agus/ach é a bheith ólta, thiocfadh Seán.

(62) Agus é san IRA, phós sé Albanach buí.

In a later study, Ó Baoill (1991) discusses the general use of similar subordinating patterns in the Goidelic branch of the Celtic languages, in particular. He also points out their early roots: thus in Old Irish *ocus/acus* and *os* were used in similar subordinating contexts, especially before stressed forms of the personal pronoun with the meaning 'and I' or 'I being'. Thurneysen (1975:548) provides the following illustration of this usage:

(63) do bertis cech n-olc form os-mese oc taircitul cech maith dóib-som
'they used to inflict every evil on me, though I was (lit. 'and I') prophesying every good to them'

Ó Siadhail (1989:284–6) distinguishes between three types of complements subordinated by *agus*. Of these, what he terms the 'absolute subject' type is the most relevant to the case at hand, as in this type the subordinate clause always requires a subject, whereas it is not always present or obligatory in the other two types. One of Ó Siadhail's examples of the absolute subject type is given in (64) (Ó Siadhail 1989:284):

(64) Ní raibh mé ach aon bhliain déag d'aois nuair a mharbhaigh a chapall féin m'athair, *agus é ag tíocht* ó bhainis. 'I was only eleven years of age when his own horse killed my father when he was coming from a wedding.'

Semantically, the absolute subject type can, according to Ó Siadhail, express either a temporal meaning (as in (64)) or various kinds of non-temporal meanings, including attendant circumstance, equivalent of relative clause, concessive and causal meanings (Ó Siadhail 1989:284). Ó Baoill (1991) presents a fairly similar, but even more detailed, list, which besides the already mentioned meanings, includes manner, concessive condition, (positive or negative) 'concomitance', and similarity.

Ó Siadhail argues that the subordinating *agus* construction derives from an underlying finite *agus* clause containing the substantive verb as its predicate: in (64) this would be…*agus bhí sé ag tíocht ó bhainis* 'and he was coming from a wedding' (Ó Siadhail 1989:284). In this form, the pronoun subject is in its nominative, or to use Ó Siadhail's terminology, 'conjunctive' form, as opposed to the objective, 'disjunctive', form which always appears in the subordinate construction (ibid.).

The use of the objective forms of personal pronouns marks an interesting difference between the Irish subordinating *agus* construction and my HE examples above: the latter—and all the others in the HE corpus, in fact—have the pronoun in the subjective case. HE usage does allow the objective case, too, as is shown by Harris's example cited in (57) above and by Henry's data from the dialect of Roscommon (see Henry 1957:206). That there is variation here, which goes back at least about a hundred years and probably even more, is confirmed by Joyce. Having cited examples of subordinating *and* structures, which all contain the personal pronoun in the nominative case, he goes on to remark that 'there is a variety in our English use of the pronouns here, namely, that we often use the objective (or accusative) case instead of the nominative' (Joyce 1910/1988:34). His explanation for this rests on the fact that in certain types of contexts the accusative forms of the Irish pronouns are, as he puts it, 'used as a nominative', which has then led to similar usage in the English of the Irish. As examples, he mentions sentences like *Them are the boys,* which he takes to be a translation of the Irish *Is iad sin na buachaillidhe,* where the accusative *iad* is the correct form instead of the nominative *siad* 'they' (ibid.). Another context according to Joyce is the type of *agus* sentence at issue, which likewise requires the accusative form (used as a nominative, as it were), as in *Do chonnairc mé Seadhán agus é n'a shuidhe* 'I saw Shaun and *him* sitting down' (Joyce 1910/1988:35). An alternative explanation could be found in the relationship which Ó Siadhail (1989) considers to obtain between the Irish subordinating *agus* construction and its finite-clause counterpart: as mentioned, the form of the pronoun varies according to which construction is used, and it is the existence of this optionality that may have led to a certain degree of almost random variation in the corresponding HE sentences.

8.3.4 Subordinating and *in early HE texts and in the HE corpus*

Subordinating *and* is similar to many other HE features in that it does not seem to emerge until relatively late. Thus the earliest HE texts, such as those contained in Bliss (1979), do not contain occurrences of subordinating *and* at all. They are, however, well in evidence in the writings of early nineteenth-century authors, such as William Carleton. His usage clearly favours the nominative-form pronouns, as in (65), but occasional instances of the objective forms can also be found, illustrated in (66):

(65) "[…] when, on coming down a bank in the middle of the bog, he saw a dark-looking man leaning against a clamp of turf, and a black dog, with a pipe of tobacky in his mouth, sitting at his ase [ease] beside him, and *he* smoking as sober as a judge […]" (Carleton 1842–44/ 1990:25)

(66) "[…] And when I seen its little innocent face, dead, an' *me* widout a brother, I thought my heart would break, thinkin' upon who did it!" (Carleton 1842–44/1990:387)

Besides the literary texts of the nineteenth century (and later; see Taniguchi 1972), there is some evidence of the use of subordinating *and* in other written genres. Though relatively infrequent, this construction makes a few appearances in my corpus of nineteenth-century letters. One of these occurs in a letter written by 'Widow Mary O Boyle' to the Liverpool-based shipping agent in the 1840s:

(67) […] this Tho.s Tansy works in England and does not know any thing About this that Jerry Misset wants to take out the poor widows son in the place of Tansy which If done Contrary to Missets wife may lie [abreach?] of the greatest violation of the law and may or might have this poor O Boyle punished *and the poor Boy* {*O Boyle*} *not knowing* any thing about it […] (*The Grimshaw Papers,* No. 6, c. 1840; National Library of Ireland MS 15,784)

Fitzpatrick's (1994) collection of emigrant letters yields some further examples, which demonstrate that, although this construction must have primarily been a feature of spoken colloquial language, it is not altogether alien to the written mode either. This indicates that subordinating *and* was a well-established feature of nineteenth-century HE grammar. The following two examples are taken from the letters of two Irish emigrants to Australia, one from Co. Clare, the other from Co. Galway:

(68) Let me know has he [a Mr Shannon, a local landlord] left old Derry House the Mansion of his Father & Mother and his own native house & home. If I should see Derry House *and he not living there* I would Surely shed tears for it (But I expect I never will) to my griefe. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 14, 1863; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:92–3)

(69) As for my Brother & sisters I Quite forgive them as they have got children of their owne to [?look two] *& me a child or a lost lam far aw*ay *from home & nation*. (*The Burke Letters,* No. 3, 1884; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:155)

The extent of use of subordinating *and* in present-day spoken HE is, as before, assessed on the basis of the HE corpus. Note that the frequencies provided in Table 8.2 include those 'hybrid' instances in which *when* was used instead of *and* in an otherwise similar context. The number of instances with *when* is given in brackets.

In comparison with many other distinctive features of HE, subordinating *and* turned out be relatively infrequent in the HE corpus, except in Clare and Wicklow. There was also a great deal of inter-dialectal and also inter-individual variation here, but despite the low incidence in Kerry dialect, this feature appears to be more common in rural as opposed to urban speech. Another noticeable feature was the relatively high proportion of the 'hybrid' forms with *when* in the Kerry corpus, while there were none in the Clare material. The fact that all of these occurred in the speech of one Kerry informant is but one indication of the susceptibility of this feature to inter-individual variation. Similar variation occurred in the Wicklow corpus, where as many as 13 of the 17 tokens were recorded from one informant. He was the oldest of all, which may be a factor here, but in Clare, by comparison, the instances were fairly evenly spread among all of the six speakers. Of all the various structural patterns, the one with present participle as predicate turned out to be the most frequently employed pattern, accounting for about half of all the instances. The next most frequent pattern was the one with a noun or an adjective in the predicate position (about 30 per cent of the instances), the rest being evenly divided between the patterns involving a past participle or a prepositional phrase in that position.

Let us next consider the possible parallels in other varieties of English and in earlier English. As before, subordinating *and* could in principle be explained as an archaism, with no connection with the Irish *agus*-construction, but in that case we should expect to find similar patterns in conservative BrE dialects and in earlier stages of English.

8.3.5 Parallels in other varieties and in earlier English

Constructions similar to HE subordinating *and* can be found in HebE (see below), and they have also been claimed to exist in certain dialects of BrE and in Scots. Ó Siadhail (1984), writing on the parallelism between the Irish *agus* and the HE

Table 8.2 Frequencies of the subordinating uses of *and (when)* in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	*Total of subordinating* and (when)	N/*10,000*
Kerry (44,000)	8 (4)	1.8
Clare (30,000)	18 (0)	6.0
Wicklow (42,000)	17 (4)	4.0
Dublin (42,000)	5 (1)	1.0
HE total (158,000)	48	3.0

and constructions, discusses evidence which indicates that the same syntactic pattern occurs in at least Warwickshire dialect. His data are drawn from the works of George Eliot, but he also refers to similar usage in Dickens and, relying on Taniguchi (1972), in American English. Ó Siadhail concludes that subordinating *and* must be seen as independent growth in both Irish and English, and that since it already existed in the English language before English and Irish came into contact in Ireland, there was no need for this feature to be borrowed from Irish. In Ó Siadhail's words, it was simply '"picked up" and reinforced by speakers changing from Irish to English' (Ó Siadhail 1984:135).

In an earlier context (see Filppula 1991b), I have pointed out potential flaws in Ó Siadhail's evidence. As mentioned, it mainly consists of examples taken from the prose works of just one author, George Eliot, who furthermore had in her childhood spent several years in a boarding-school under the close supervision of two Irish governesses. This, I believe, detracts somewhat from the value of George Eliot's prose as a source of evidence in this matter, although it does not of course suffice to eliminate the possibility that subordinating *and* was, or is, a feature of the dialect in question. However, *EDD* (s.v. *and* 2.), which recognises the use of *and* 'to introduce a nominative absolute, sometimes with ellipsis *of v'*, i.e. our subordinating *and* construction, gives examples of this usage only from Irish and Scottish sources.

Another source of information on the uses of *and* in BrE dialects is provided by the dialectal part of the Helsinki Corpus. As reported in Filppula (1991b), I have here had access to data drawn from four conservative rural BrE dialects: Somerset and Devon in the southwest of England, Cambridgeshire in the east Midlands and Yorkshire in the north.[9] Taken together, the corpora from which my data have been culled by means of the *WordCruncher* concordance program amount to some 120,000 words of fairly informal speech very similar to my own HE recordings. Only one token of subordinating *and* was found in all this material, and it occurred in the Somerset subcorpus:

(70) Well, we go right through the field like that there till we finished [picking up turnips] *and the sheep coming along* up behind.

It is arguable whether (70) is quite similar in meaning to the HE construction. The StE gloss for (70) could be something like 'with the sheep coming along behind', that is, the meaning of *and* seems here more coordinating than subordinating. Note that the *with* + present participle structure is not a possible gloss for the HE patterns, which underlines the difference between HE and BrE in this respect. There were no occurrences of subordinating uses in the other three BrE dialects, which suggests that subordinating *and* is either non-existent or at best extremely rare in BrE dialects. So far, then, the data do not support Ó Siadhail's view. I will return to the possible earlier English parallels further below.

If the evidence remains very scant with respect to BrE dialects, there is no such problem with subordinating uses of *and* in Scots. Macafee and Ó Baoill

(1997), writing on the influence of Gaelic on the grammar of Scots, mention subordinating *and* as one of the features of Scots which may derive from Gaelic. Their discussion of the Scots usage is based on *SND,* which gives the following description of the subordinating use of *and:*

> After an expression of feeling, often an exclamation, or a rhetorical question, *an(d)* is used in Sc. to introduce a circumstance by way of contrast or objection; this is in the form of an exclamatory sentence without a finite verb, and with the logical subject either in the nom. or in the obj. case. The latter is the modern colloquial use, the former occurs also in O.Sc. The usage is rare in St.Eng.; the instance in *The Burial of Sir John Moore,* cited in *N.E.D.,* is perhaps influenced by a similar idiom existing in Anglo-Irish: […]
>
> (SND *s.v. an(d), an',* conj.[1] 2.)

As examples of the Scots usage, *SND* (s.v. *an(d), an',* conj.[1] 2.) cites the following lines from Robert Burns:

(71) How can ye chant, ye little birds, And I sae fu' o' care?

(72) Play'd me sic a trick, An' me the Eller's dochter!

Kirk (1985:138–9) cites similar examples of what he terms 'concessive paratactic clauses' from Scottish English: *an me wi ma bad leg tae, and her in bed wi' her stomach tae*. The concessive shade of meaning of *and* is also recognised by Macafee and Ó Baoill, who state that besides the 'exclamatory' function evidenced by (71) and (72), subordinating *and* can have a concessive but also a 'temporal' sense. As regards the background to these Scots usages, they write:

> Similar constructions with *agus* ("and") are normal and widespread in all three Gaelic languages, where the personal pronouns used (such as *e* for "he"/"him") are originally not declinable. This usage may have been borrowed into the English spoken (and written) in Ireland. It occurs also in Welsh from an early date, and possibly the Breton use of *ha* or *hag* ("and") as a relative particle is a related feature: so it might be argued that such uses of *and*-words constitute an old Celtic practice. In Gaelic it is well attested in the eighth-century Milan glosses, where the conjunction occurs as *os,* later *ocus,* modern *agus*. Since the DOST *[A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue]* attests this usage in the works of Henryson, c. 1475, it seems reasonable to suggest (see Ó Baoill, forthcoming; Häcker 1994) the possibility that in Scots it is an early calque on Gaelic.
>
> (Macafee and Ó Baoill 1997:270)

Häcker (1994), referred to by Macafee and Ó Baoill in the above quotation, defends a view which looks to Middle English and Middle Scots as the most likely sources of the Scots subordinating *and* constructions, thus denying the 'Celtic hypothesis'. In the same connection she also takes issue with my earlier account of the historical background of the HE subordinating *and* construction, reported in Filppula (1991a and b), and in Klemola and Filppula (1992). As factors speaking against Celtic origin, Häcker mentions some formal and semantic differences between the HE and Scots *and*-constructions. First, the former favours the nominative versus the objective or 'common case' form of the pronoun. Second, *and* followed by the *-ing* participle is rare in Scots, a feature which according to Häcker is also characteristic of the earlier English parallels. Third, she claims that semantically the *and*-construction denotes more often concession than mere 'temporality' in Scots, whereas the latter meaning is according to her the predominant one in HE. Fourth, Häcker argues that HebE is similar to Scots in that the *-ing* participle type is rare and that it most often denotes concession rather than temporality, as opposed to HE *and* (see Häcker 1994:38–9).

Häcker's first objection to the Celtic hypothesis can scarcely be sustained given that there is variation in HE with respect to the case-form of the pronoun (see the discussion above). Her second argument carries more weight, and it may well be true that the *-ing* participle is rarer in Scots than in HE, but the fact that it exists in Scots, too, underlines the connection with HE and, what is important, with HebE. As has been demonstrated by Odlin (1992) and Filppula (1997a), HebE displays a range of *and*-constructions which are identical to those found in HE or Scots, including forms with the *-ing* participle. The following examples are from my Tiree database:

(73) But many's a time I was along with my auntie on the loom, *and her weaving*. (SA 1962/239/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(74) And the boat went ashore in Coll *and John Campbell tied* to the stern seat. (SA 1970/93/A/Tiree: D.S.)

(75) And though he was blind I was the only one he was calling on […] And he would come, *and him blind,* to the house. (SA 1970/98/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(76) But when the crowd comes back we don't hear anything [strange talking]. But when the house is quiet *and us alone* you never heard such talk that's going on up there. (SA 1970/94/B/Tiree: D.S.)

Sabban (1982) does not discuss subordinating *and,* but the extracts from her material appended to her study contain a few instances similar to my examples from Tiree. Consider (77):

(77) At the age of 21 this day I was out cutting peats *and my mother along with me*. (Sabban 1982:585, ll. 130–1)

The HebE examples cited above are also semantically similar to their HE counterparts, which makes the Celtic connection even more likely. This brings us back to Häcker's third point, namely the centrality in Scots of the concessive meaning at the expense of the 'temporal' one. While such a difference may exist between Scots and HE, it does not justify a sharp distinction between these varieties: the *and*-constructions can be concessive in HE, too, as is shown by example (49) above, and the same is true of their HebE counterparts, witness (75) above.[10] On the other hand, the HebE examples cited above suffice to show that the *-ing* participle occurs in HebE, too, and that temporal uses are just as common as the concessive ones in this variety, if not even more common (cf. Häcker's fourth argument above). Furthermore, the previous discussion of the Celtic uses of *agus* has made it clear that it serves to express a variety of non-temporal meanings, including the concessive and causal ones. It is these formal and functional features of subordinating *and* between HE, HebE, and arguably Scots, too, which lead one to look for some inherent connection between all three, and the most plausible one is provided by the substratal Celtic parallels. As Macafee and Ó Baoill (1997) point out (see the quotation above), subordinating constructions with *agus* are a very old common Celtic feature, with the earliest Gaelic attestations reaching as far back as the eighth century (see also Gregor 1980:215–19).

Having said that, the earlier English parallels deserve to be looked at more closely. To begin with, Klemola and Filppula (1992) have shown on the basis of the Helsinki Corpus that subordinating uses of *and* can be found in ME texts, but they are extremely rare: there were only 10 occurrences in the 600,000-word corpus (i.e. in the ME part of the Helsinki Corpus), which means an average frequency of only 0.17 occurrences per 10,000 words of text. Recall that the corresponding figure for the HE corpus as a whole was 3.0 (see Table 8.2). It should also be borne in mind that, besides examples like (78) and (79), which are arguably similar to the HE ones, the quoted figures for earlier English include infinitival structures like (80), which do not correspond to the HE subordinating *and* constructions.

(78) And thei herynge these thingis, wenten awei oon aftir anothir, and thei bigunnen fro the eldre men; and Jhesus dwelte aloone, *and the womman stondynge in the myddil*. (Wyclif, John 8:9, c. 1380)

(79) For we haue dwelt ay with hir still And was neuere fro hir day nor nyght. Hir kepars haue we bene *And sho ay in oure sight*. (*York Plays,* 120, c.1450)

(80) He seide hit was soth, and asked ayen if we wold forbere and abstayne

and be recompensed therfor, *and we to have the viw and alle that longeth therto generally,* as well on the fe as, &c. (*Shillingford Letters,* 11, 1447)

Despite a slight increase in their frequencies, subordinating uses of *and* remained rare in the EModE period, too, the average frequency per 10,000 words being 0.52 (again, these figures include the 'infinitival' type illustrated in (80)). However, EModE witnesses a wider variety of structures: constructions with a past participle or a complement in the predicate position emerge as new types. They are illustrated in (81) and (82), cited in Klemola and Filppula (1992:310, 313):

(81) What is the Cat, a deuill? Then remember the prouerbe, aske his fellow if he be a theefe. All the matter resteth vpon the testimony of *deuils, and they not put to their oath.* (*Witches and Witchcraftes,* 15, 1593)

(82) […] and I say, of seventy or eighty Carps, [I] only found five or six in the said pond, *and those very sick and lean,* and […] (*The Compleat Angler,* 1653–76)

What is particularly noteworthy about the meaning of EModE subordinating *and*-clauses is that they often have an exclamatory function, as in (83) from the Helsinki Corpus. This is something which is not so characteristic of the HE usage, which tends to be rather neutral and 'constative'.

(83) Mr. Serringe—I'm a dead Man. —A dead Man, *and I by*—I shou'd laugh to see that, […] (*The Complete Works of Sir John Vanbrugh*, 39, 1698)

Jespersen (1918/1962:223–7), who discusses the same feature on the basis of data drawn mainly from the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare, states that the function of the *and*-clauses containing what he terms 'unconnected subject' is often, though not necessarily, that of 'exclamation of surprise or remonstrance'. He further points out that the phenomenon is 'more frequent from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century than it is now' (Jespersen 1918/1962:224, Note). Further illustration of similar use of subordinating *and* is provided by Visser (1963–73:251; see also 1163–4, 1278–9), who, however, draws a distinction between patterns involving a pronoun either in the objective or the subjective case. He describes the former as a 'colloquial idiom', which does not emerge until the beginning of the nineteenth century. As his first example of this type he cites the sentence *Which would be hard on us, and me a widow* from Maria Edgeworth, the early nineteenth-century Irish writer (Visser 1963–73:251). The latter construction Visser traces back to late ME, quoting examples from Wyclif, Chaucer, Mandeville, and others. In the same connection he notes the Irish English predilection for this type of construction, quoting several examples

from the works of J.M.Synge and Lady Gregory (Visser 1963–73: 1163–4). Recall that all of the tokens in my HE corpus also had the pronoun in the subjective case, although, as mentioned above, the objective case is not uncommon on the basis of other studies. Besides Visser, Onions stresses the difference based on the form of the pronoun subject: according to him, the pattern with a nominative subject is 'rare and poetical', whereas the use of the objective form is a feature of 'illiterate language' (Onions 1904/1969:67; for further discussion of the history, see also Link 1955).

8.3.6 Conclusion

Although the corpus study has shown the subordinating *and* construction to be subject to a certain amount of inter-dialectal and inter-individual variation, it remains firmly among the grammatical features which have given HE dialects their distinctive flavour in both their spoken and written forms (see the discussion on nineteenth-century texts above). More problematic is the question of the origins of the HE *and* construction and the relevance of the earlier English and dialectal evidence discussed above. The marginal place of subordinating uses of *and* in the grammar of ME and EModE suggests that they could hardly have provided the necessary input to the HE subordinating *and* constructions. A much more robust model for the HE usage has been available in the form of the Irish *agus*-constructions, which have the same semantic and functional range as the HE *and*-clauses. We have also seen that there are important functional differences between the ME and EModE parallels and the HE construction: the 'exclamatory' type, though it also exists in HE, is but one, and by no means the most central, of the functions of subordinating *and* in HE. On the basis of the data from the HE corpus, the HE construction is characteristically non-exclamatory and 'constative', and is used to express a variety of meanings ranging from temporal simultaneity to concession and other attendant circumstances. Finally, the geographical distribution of subordinating *and* in the British Isles points to a predominantly northern and (north)western 'dialect area', which in itself is a factor speaking for some role for the Celtic substrata. The evidence from HebE is particularly important because it confirms emergence of formally and functionally similar patterns in conditions which involve a highly similar substratum language, thus lending further support to the Celtic hypothesis (cf. Odlin 1992). Current research on Scots also seems to lean towards a Celtic source for the parallel feature in Scots (Macafee and Ó Baoill 1997; C.Ó Baoill 1997; cf., however, Häcker 1994 for a different view).

8.4 *Only* and *but* as conjunctions/conjunctives

Both *only* and *but* belong to those elements of English grammar which have been endowed with more than their fair share of different functions. Thus,

according to Quirk *et al.* (1985:1734), *only* can be an adverb, a conjunct, conjunction, diminisher subjunct, postdeterminer, restrictive adjective, and restrictive subjunct. *But* has an almost equally wide range of functions, which partially overlaps with those of *only:* it can be a conjunction, subjunct, preposition, an adverb or a noun phrase coordinator (Quirk *et al.:* 1680). I will in this section focus on one shared function of *only* and *but* which appears to be particularly well developed in HE and possibly reflects a similar feature of Irish, namely the use of *only* and *but* as conjunctions. Closely associated with this is the use *of only* as what will below be termed 'conjunctive *only*'.

8.4.1 Problems of delimitation

The conjunction use of *only* and *but* is illustrated by the following examples from the HE corpus:

(84) And where did he find himself the next morning *only* in the Irish Guards. (Wicklow: D.M.)

(85) Oh, I bid eight bob on them. Someone bid nine bob […] I said ten bob, and who comes along *only* Joe Connolly. And he looks in, eleven bob. I said twelve bob […] (Dublin: M.L.)

(86) But who did the man above in Leimanagh bring down to ride the horse *but* the Dummy Canny. (Clare: F.K.)

In these examples, the function of *only* and *but* can be said to be that of conjunction rather than preposition, although the dividing line is not sharp. Thus, in its entry for *but, NED* states that

> 'nobody else went but me (or I)' is variously analysed as = 'nobody else went except me' and 'nobody else went except (that) I (went)', and as these mean precisely the same thing, both are pronounced grammatically correct.
>
> (*NED* s.v. *but*)

NED goes on to note that after interrogatives *but* has behaved like a conjunction ever since the OE period, and continues to do so in modern English, too, the illustrative examples for modern English being *Is there any one in the house but she*? (or *but her*?) and *Who could have done it but he*? (or *but him*?) (*NED* s.v. *but* C.3.). The indeterminate status of *but* in present-day English is mentioned in passing by Quirk *et al.* (1985:339), when they discuss alternation between subjective and objective case forms after indefinite pronouns (like *nobody, everyone, all,* etc.) followed by *but* or *except*. Despite acknowledging the possibility of analysing *but* in this kind of context as a conjunction, their own analysis puts it under

the heading of prepositions of 'exception and addition' (see Quirk *et al.* 1985:707–9, section 9.58 and also Note (a) for further discussion of delimitation problems). It is in that connection that they also cite an example of *but* after an interrogative word (cf. the HE examples above), their single example being as follows (Quirk *et al.* 1985:708):

(87) Who should turn up *but* our old friend Tom.

Both Quirk *et al.* (1985) and *NED* exclude *only* from the kinds of context described so far, but *NED* cites a few examples of *only* in the sense 'the only thing to be added being; with this restriction, drawback, or exception only; but *(adversative);* on the other hand, on the contrary' (*NED* s.v. *only* B.1.). In this function *only* comes close to being an adverb rather than a conjunction. In fact, *NED* gives alternative analyses of this type of *only* either as 'conjunctive adverb' or conjunction (*NED* s.v. *only* B.1.). It is illustrated, among others, by the examples given in (88) and (89); note that *only* introduces a complete finite clause in both:

(88) Spend all I haue, onely giue me so much of your time in enchange of it, as [etc.]. (1598 SHAKS. *Merry W.* II.ii. 242)

(89) Many a man would have become wise, only he thought he was so already. (1625 PURCHAS *Pilgrims* II. 1117)

This use corresponds to what Quirk *et al.* have labelled as 'conjunct', which in their classification constitutes one type of adverbial. The conjunct *only* is according to these grammarians restricted to informal speech and denotes contrast and concession (Quirk *et al.* 1985:634–6; 641). For the sake of simplicity, I will in the following refer to this use as 'conjunctive *only*'.

The above discussion has helped to establish one difference between HE and StE, namely the (optional) use of *only* instead of the standard *but* after interrogative words. As regards the conjunctive use of *only,* it is well in evidence in HE, where it can introduce either a finite or a nonfinite (infinitival or participial) clause. These two types are illustrated by the following examples from the HE corpus:

(90) But we wouldn't = for = for the rest of the year, we did no drinking, *only* we'd meet around there all for a conversation. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(91) I never been there either, *only* my wife comes from Longford. (Wicklow: C.C.)
'…it is just that my wife…'[11]

(92) Oh, it [a fiddle] was a crude deal to look at it, like, and he had no

ins' = he wasn't a tradesman at all, *only* he to be handy. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(93) […] he never had to go near the firing line or that, *only* treating up the wounded horses. Of course he was a veterinary surgeon, when he was finished. (Wicklow: D.M.)

The conjunctive uses of *only* are also interesting because they seem to mark a division of labour between *only* and *but* in HE: only the former occurs in conjunctive function on the basis of my data.[12] However, there is another feature shared by all the conjunctive examples above which links up the conjunctive *only* of finite and nonfinite clauses with other HE uses in which the conjunction *only,* or alternatively (though less commonly) *but,* focuses on an NP or an adverbial: this is the presence of negation in the main or 'matrix' clause. Compare, first, the examples in (90–93) with ones containing *only,* as in (94) and (95):

(94) Ah, it was no good for me to go to England, if I couldn't talk nothing *only* Irish, was it? (Kerry: J.F.)

(95) [Did you ever hear of that bein' done anywhere else?] I didn't ever hear of it *only* around here. (Clare: C.O'B.)

But is also possible in these types of contexts, although it is clearly less common than *only* (see the discussion below). Furthermore, there was no instance in the corpus of *but* introducing an adverbial. The instance of *but* in (96) was recorded from the same speaker as (94) above, which suggests a certain degree of freedom of choice between *only* and *but:*

(96) And she learned, she learned the Irish language. She had = she could = she could speak, she'd speak nothing with the lot of them *but* Irish, the = the = the Gaelic language. (Kerry: J.F.)

There remains one more context in which *only,* or alternatively *but,* appears in combination with *for* in the sense 'except' or 'were it not for'. This use again raises problems of delimitation: *NED* treats it under the heading of conjunctive adverb or conjunction, whereas for Quirk *et al.* it is a preposition expressing 'negative condition' (1985:709). Terminological issues aside, the HE use very often, though not necessarily, involves negation in the matrix clause, as can be seen from the following examples:

(97) All the = all = all that was forced to the Irish people, it was forced by the British government. But *only* = *only* = *only for* the Famine, there wouldn't be a half as many Protestants in Ireland, do you see. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(98) And you wouldn't have a school nor a chapel in the parish of Milltown *but for* the Fitzgeralds. (Clare: C.O'B.)

The corpus contained a couple of instances of *only for* in a non-negative context, which is illustrated in (99) (see also NED s.v. *only* B.2.):

(99) […] the British wanted the ports here, and the Americans wanted them, too, but de Valera wouldn't budge. And he held out, because *only for* that we'd have been beaten, and we'd = we'd never have a chance against the Germans. (Dublin: J.O'B.)

8.4.2 Data from the HE corpus and previous studies

Table 8.3 presents a summary of the various contexts of use of *only/but* and their combined frequencies in the HE corpus. Since *but* is the less common of the two, its frequencies are given in brackets. The most notable difference in the frequencies of use of *only/but* emerges between the rural dialects, on the one hand, and Dublin speech, on the other, and it concerns principally the use of *only* as a conjunctive word introducing finite or nonfinite clauses. I will return to the possible implications of these results below.[13]

The kinds of uses described above have been salient enough to attract the attention of HE scholars. Thus, Joyce (1910/1988:33) discusses examples like *Who should come up to me in the fair but John* and *Who should walk in only his dead wife,* claiming that they are not so much questions as assertions of something which comes as a surprise. He concludes that they are based on the corresponding Irish construction. Similarly, van Hamel (1912:278), who discusses the use of *but* (van Hamel does not mention *only* in this function at all) in rhetorical questions, explains it as a reflex of the typical Irish way of emphasising either a subject or an object in the sentence. As an illustration of the Irish construction, he quotes the following example from MacKenna's (1911) *English-Irish Phrase Dictionary* (van Hamel 1912:278):

(100) cé bheadh ann acht an fear a bhí…
'who would be there but the man who…'

Table 8.3 Contexts of use and frequencies of the conjunctions/conjunctives *only* and *but* in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	*Clause*	*NP*	*Adv*	~ for	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	11 (0)	9 (4)	2 (0)	3 (3)	25	8.3
Kerry (44,000)	7 (0)	11 (3)	1 (0)	5 (0)	24	5.5
Wicklow (42,000)	11 (0)	11 (2)	3 (0)	3 (0)	28	6.7
Dublin (42,000)	3 (0)	9 (4)	–	3 (0)	15	3.6
HE total (158,000)	32 (0)	40 (13)	6 (0)	14 (3)	92	5.8

More recently, Henry (1957:200–1) and Bliss (1984a:148) have documented the same usage in modern HE dialects (see also Taniguchi 1972:117 on the same feature as a 'solecism', which has found its way into Anglo-Irish literature). Bliss associates it with what he terms 'positive rhetorical questions', as opposed to the negative ones like *Amn't I the heart-broken woman*?, which he also takes to be characteristic of HE speech (Bliss 1984a:148). Yet Henry's analysis of the uses of *but* and *only* in HE is of greater interest here, because it seeks to capture the whole range of the uses of these conjunctions and not just rhetorical questions. To begin with, he notes the existence of both Irish and Shakespearian parallels for the 'Anglo-Irish' uses of *but* and *only*. However, he stresses the incompleteness of the correspondence between the last two: in Anglo-Irish, he argues, *but* and *only* reflect a tendency towards negative statements at the expense of positive statements in a way which has a perfect match in the corresponding uses of the Irish constructions involving *acht* 'but' (Henry 1957:200). Even positive interrogative forms such as *An' who was the doctor but the same young fellow* can according to Henry be construed as negative statements: 'the doctor was no one else but the same young fellow' (ibid.). What this means is that most of the Anglo-Irish uses of *but* and *only* can be reduced to the construction described by Henry as 'initial negation followed by exemptive *but (only)*' (ibid.). Below are some of Henry's examples and glosses, which illustrate the corresponding StE constructions (ibid.):

(101) I didn't go but once 'I only went once'.

(102) I didn't see only herself in it 'I saw only herself there'.

(103) There was nobody I admired but him 'I admired him beyond all others'.

As Henry notes, the negative construction is a popular device in Anglo-Irish speech even in contexts in which a positive statement is intended. The significance of Henry's analysis will become evident when we turn next to the corresponding Irish system.

8.4.3 Substratal parallels

The present-day Irish system has been described, among others, by Ó Siadhail under the heading of 'suspensive *ná*'. According to him, suspensive *ná* is well developed in Munster dialects and occurs in the following kinds of pseudo-WH-questions or clefts (Ó Siadhail 1989:336–7):

(104) Cad a raghadh ceangailte im' mhéir ná an dubhán (M[unster]) 'What should get stuck in my finger but the hook.'

(105) Cé bheadh ar an bhfód ná deirfiúr do (M[unster]) 'Who should be on the scene but a sister of his.'

(106) 'Sé an chéad scéal do chuir an bheirt ar bun ná 'An Long Dhóite' (M[unster]) 'The first story the two got off on was "An Long Dhóite".'

Ó Siadhail (1989:337) further points out that in Connacht and Donegal *ach*[14] 'but' is used instead of *ná,* and that in Munster, too, *ach* is used alongside *ná,* as in (107):

(107) Cad do bhuailfeadh chugam ach an gasra céanna ban óg (M[unster]) 'What should be heading for me but the same group of young women.'

It should be noted, however, that the Irish emphasising construction involving *ach* 'but' or 'only' is not restricted to pseudo-WH-questions or clefts. McCloskey discusses the correspondence between the Irish NEG…*ach* 'but/ only' construction and English *only*. For a clause containing an object which is to be emphasised in this way, the construction is as follows (example quoted from McCloskey 1979:146, fn. 12):

(108) Ní fhaca mé ach Nollaig.
NEG saw I but Noel
'I saw only Noel.'

It is also possible to place the focus on the subject, in which case, as McCloskey notes, the emphasised subject NP can be optionally extraposed to clause-final position. Consider the following examples cited by McCloskey (ibid.):

(109) Ní raibh ach Nollaig sa teach.
NEG was but Noel in the house
'There was only Noel in the house."

(110) Ní raibh sa teach ach Nollaig.
'There was only Noel in the house.'

Furthermore, the focused constituent can be a finite or nonfinite clause, introduced either by *ach* or *murach* 'if not, only' (< *mura* 'if' + *ach* 'only'). The nonfinite construction involves the verbal noun, as can be seen in example (111) from *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (s.v. *murach* conj. 1.), while in the finite clause structure *murach* is followed by the conjunction go 'that' or *nach* 'that-not', as in (112) and (113) (*Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla,* s.v. *murach* conj. 2):[15]

(111) …murach an samhradh a bheith ag teacht 'only that the summer is coming'

(112) …murach go n-aithním iad 'only that I recognise them'

(113) …murach nach bhfeicim é 'only that I don't see it'

Finally, it should be mentioned that Irish *ach* is also used in the sense 'but for', as is shown by the following examples provided by *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (s.v. *ach*): (a) *ach grásta Dé* 'but for the grace of God', (b) ~ *ab é,* ~ *gurb é, an teas* 'but for the heat'; ~ *ab é mise* 'only for me'; ~ *ab é go bhfuil deifir orm* 'if I weren't in a hurry'.

It should by now be evident that the Irish patterns may well have provided the model for the HE usages described above. Apart from the rhetorical questions illustrated above in (84–6), which, as we have seen, have a direct idiomatic parallel in Irish, most of the other HE examples involve negation in the immediately preceding matrix clause. Thus they correspond to the basic Irish NEG…*ach* pattern, as discussed by McCloskey (1979), and also match the prevailing negative + exemptive *but/only* tendency observed for the dialect of Roscommon by Henry (1957). The conjunctive uses of *only* are no exception, because they too have direct parallels in Irish, and what is more, share the same feature of occurring mostly in an immediately preceding negative context.

8.4.4 Parallels in earlier English and in other varieties

As was shown by the examples in (88) and (89) above and the discussion there, earlier and also present-day English parallels exist especially for the use of *only* in introducing finite clauses and, of course, for the use of *but* after interrogative and indefinite pronouns, which is a feature of StE, too. There are also parallels in dialectal English: *EDD* (s.v. *only* 3.) states that the use of *only* in the sense 'except, but; but that' is general after negation; among the areas in which this feature is attested, *EDD* mentions northern Ireland, Lancashire, Cheshire, north Lincolnshire, Oxford, Suffolk, and Devon. Note, however, that *EDD* cites only one example of *only* in other than a clausal context, and it comes from Yorkshire:

(114) Yks. *N. & Q.* (1880) 6th S. i. 82. Nrf. 'There are none only this,' said a Norfolk man…when handing to me a solitary letter that had come by post, *ib.* (1879) 5th S. xii. 518.

It should also be borne in mind that *but for* belongs in even StE grammar, whereas its variant *only for* is attested in earlier English, consider, for example, the following quotation given in *NED* (s.v. *only* B.2.):

(115) My wife and I, in their coach to Hide Parke, where.. pleasant it was, only for the dust. (1664 PEPYS *Diary* 22 Apr.)

As before, it is interesting to compare the findings reported in the literature with the evidence obtainable from my BrE dialect corpora. A search through the southwestern and Yorkshire corpora revealed that *only* and *but* were not used nearly so much as in the HE dialects. There were no instances of the conjunction *only* focusing on an NP or an adverbial, a feature which was above found to be common enough especially in the rural HE dialects. There was one such occurrence of *but* in the southwestern corpus, while the Yorkshire corpus had two instances of *but* in this type of context, both preceded by the archaic negative indefinite pronoun *nought,* as in (116):

(116) There's a fellow up on the tops there—a shepherd —Joy they call him —he's, oh, I think he burns nought else much *but* peat, and he's a terrible tidy fellow and all with the job he, and […] (SED/ Yorkshire: Grassington)

The southwestern corpus contained half a dozen instances of conjunctive *only,* but there were none in the Yorkshire material. All of the conjunctive instances introduced a finite clause, but only one of these appeared in a negative context. Compare (117) with (118):

(117) [Jim, are you tired?]
No, darn, no. *Only* I got (to) go out by'm by and just see me bullocks […] the water's all right, that's all. (Somerset: J.C.)

(118) Oh, ah, real pedigree, oh darn thee, ah, prizes and all we've had, *only* they be supposed to be all long hair combed right down, see. (Horsington, Somerset: P.R.; quoted from Wakelin 1986:139)

Besides the conservative BrE dialects, our other important point of comparison has throughout this book been HebE, and here too it is interesting to see what evidence it could offer on the question of the uses of *only* and *but*. Sabban does not discuss this feature at all, and the excerpts from her interviews appended to her study contained only one instance, which was a rhetorical question similar to the HE ones illustrated in (84–6) above (Sabban 1982:587, ll. 266–8):

(119) […] well my brother and I thought we would make a cattle sale ourselves you know and, one of [us] was the salesman and the other was the drover buying you know. And what could the cattle be *but* the hens!

The generally low incidence of *only*/*but* in HebE is also confirmed by my own

Tiree database, which only contained two instances, both involving *but*. One focused on an NP, whereas the other was of the rhetorical question type:

(120) When he would have a bottle in the house and nobody along with him *but* himself, he would put some in the glass and he would be drinking his own health. (SA 1970/110/A/Tiree: H.K.)

(121) He was going ashore one day and who was under the gang-way of the ship but the Chief Officer. (SA 1970/97/A/Tiree: H.K.)

8.4.5 Conclusion

To conclude, then, the case for the Irish substratum influence would here have to rest mainly on two factors. The first is the existence and idiomaticity of parallel Irish usages, which involve as crucial components the use of the conjunction *ach* or *ná* after interrogative words or (in the case of *ach*) negation in the main clause. The second is the greater frequencies of use of the various patterns involving *only/but* in HE dialects as compared with BrE dialects, to which could be added the observed difference between the rural and urban varieties of HE. The substratum account also receives some support from HebE, although this feature does not seem to be particularly widespread in that dialect. Put together, these pieces of evidence suffice to indicate a certain degree of contact influence, but the nature of the influence must in this case be of the reinforcing rather than direct kind, since none of the HE patterns appears to be unique to HE.[16]

9

PREPOSITIONAL USAGE

9.1 Introduction

HE is rich in turns of expression which involve uses of prepositions not found in StE or other dialects. At the same time, prepositional usage is an area which is particularly difficult to study, not least because a large part of it is determined by the properties of the individual lexical items used. Indeed, in his book on English dialects Martyn F.Wakelin remarks that the dialectal uses of prepositions (and conjunctions) are a 'lexical matter' (Wakelin 1977:118). On the other hand, HE prepositions display features which have their roots in certain types of clausal patterns, and it is those aspects of prepositional usage that I will focus on in this chapter. I will also discuss the wider implications of some of these uses for what I would like to call the 'thematic organisation' of the HE clause, although that is a topic which will receive a fuller treatment in the next chapter.

The distinctive nature of HE prepositional usage has been widely recognised in previous studies. There is also general consensus among HE scholars that the prepositional system of HE reflects to a great extent the corresponding Irish usages (see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988; van Hamel 1912; Henry 1957; Bliss 1984a; Harris 1993; Ó hÚrdail 1997). The heavy leaning on Irish is explained by the special role that prepositions play in Irish syntax. As van Hamel puts it, 'in Irish syntax prepositions take a much more prominent place than in that of any other language' (van Hamel 1912:281). Harris (1993:172) specifies this by saying that prepositional phrases are used in Irish to convey meanings which in other languages, including StE, are expressed by verbs, adjectives, or adverbs. Why this should be so—and its consequences to HE grammar—is aptly summarised by Henry as follows:

> A conspiring fact of the first magnitude in Ir. is that there is no specific verb for *to have*. Thus possession, as well as a host of other relations are expressed by *bheith* 'to be' + prepositional group: Possession: *tá airgead agam* literally *money is at me* 'I have money'; Presence: *cé tá ann?* literally and current A.I. [Anglo-Irish] *who's in it*? 'who's there?'; Physical or psychical sensation: *céard tá ort*? literally, and current A.I. *what's on*

> *you*? StE. 'what's the matter (with you)?'. An astonishing amount of this prepositional idiom is reproduced in this way in A.I., […]
> (Henry 1957:132)

I will in the following discuss the special features of the HE prepositional system, as they appeared in the HE corpus and in the other sources I have had available. My main focus will be on the prepositions *on, in, with,* and *of,* as they constituted the bulk of the nonstandard uses found in my databases.

9.2 The preposition *on*

9.2.1 Functions of on *in HE dialects*

Like its Irish counterpart *ar,* the preposition *on* has come to serve a host of different functions in HE. Indeed, Hayden and Hartog (1909:939) describe *on* in HE as a 'preposition-of-all-work'. Perhaps the best known is the use of *on* in contexts which Hayden and Hartog treat under the heading of 'dativus incommodi' (ibid.). These are expressions which imply a disadvantage of some kind or another from the point of view of the referent of the pronoun acting as the complement of the preposition. The following extract from the Wicklow part of the HE corpus describes how a fox managed to deprive the informant (J.F.) and his wife of half of their flock of hens:

(1) Mrs. F: We heard the hens rushing. You know, the = when they sound there, rushed across the yard. And we went out, err, it was just there. Oh, it was just there. JF: Oh dear, so they are * terrible. Mrs. F: One year * then he took the half of them *on me*. (Wicklow: Mrs. F., J.F.'s wife)

In (2), recorded in Clare, a slightly different type of disadvantage is expressed by means of *on:*

(2) So he took to the fields again anyway, and err = then the night time fall *on 'im*. Strange man in a strange country. (Clare: M.F.)

While the two examples above involve a simple verb followed by the preposition and its complement, the same relation of disadvantage can also be conveyed by a combination of a verb + particle + preposition, as in (3) and (4):

(3) But eh, there was some island, like, where there was a man living. And he was marooned, like, and there was no one in it but himself, like. And = this day the fire went *out on him,* like. (Clare: F.K.)

(4) If it's there, it's there, and they'll [i.e. sheep-dogs] do the work with very little training. So they will. You get more = fools of dogs, they are as useless pun' = put sheep *away on you,* breaking, going through them, and […] (Wicklow: J.N.)

Similar uses of *on* have received a lot of attention in the literature. Thus Joyce (1910/1988:27) considers them to convey 'injury or disadvantage of some kind, a violation of right or claim'. He pairs an Irish sentence like *Do bhuail Seumas mo ghadhar orm* with the HE *James struck my dog on me,* where *on me* corresponds to the Irish prepositional pronoun *orm* and means 'to my detriment, in violation of my right' (Joyce 1910/1988:27–8). Van Hamel's (1912: 282) term for the same usage is 'ethical dative', while Henry (1957:149) speaks of 'detrimental relation', illustrated by sentences like *It'll do no harm on you* 'it will do you no harm' and *It'll be night on you* 'you won't get home before night (with its additional dangers)'. In the more recent research, *on* has been described as a device forming a 'dative of disadvantage' (Bliss 1984a:149) or as a 'preposition of disadvantage' (Harris 1993:172). Moylan (1996:340–1) echoes Henry's terminology, citing several examples of 'detriment' involving *on* from Kilkenny dialect. Ó hÚrdail (1997:190) prefers the traditional Latin terms 'dativus commodi et incommodi' and 'dativus ethicus'; his examples come from Cork and Roscommon. Hickey (1983b:40) puts the HE usage in a wider cross-linguistic perspective, comparing it with the German 'Pertinenzdativ', but concludes that the HE usage is of Irish origin.

A second major function of *on* in HE is its use to express various physical and mental sensations, states or processes. These are most often negative (or at least generally perceived as such), as can be seen from the examples in (5) and (6), which illustrate physical processes or states:[1]

(5) […] and Colonel Tottenham had a gamekeeper. Begor, the gamekeeper saw him huntin' an' he made after 'im. And they ran. And this blacksmith was runnin' too, and begor, the breath was gettin' short *on him.* (Clare: C.O'B.) '…he was getting short of breath.'

(6) That a foul word = you would never hear in a boat. No. And I knew them, many's the man and they'd be = have quite a drop of drink *on them.* But you would never hear a foul word. (Dublin: L.F.)

Negative mental states or sensations are equally said to be, go or come 'on a person' in HE. Examples from the corpus are:

(7) Of course = America is very warm, the part of the states in = in America is quite = the climate is a fright *on you.* New York is a fright in the heat now. (Kerry: D.B.)

(8) But that was all right anyway, the nerves went *on him,* he went to a pure wreck inside a fortnight. He couldn't sleep or he couldn't eat, he was all the time thinking of what he had to do. (Clare: F.K.)

(9) But the very minute, they hadn't each other seen for four or five years, the very minute the fellow in Leimanagh came in to the field you could see the vexation *on him,* in the spot. (Clare: F.K.)

Though much more infrequent in the HE corpus, examples of positive states or sensations also occurred, witness (10):

(10) And Leary was lookin' at him and he got = lost his temper at Hehir for bein' so slow, an' I suppose the strength often men came *on him,* an' he said: 'What the hell are you doin'?' sez he to Hehir. (Clare: C.O'B.)

Just as the 'dativus incommodi' use of *on,* the functions illustrated above have not gone unnoticed in the literature. Thus, Hayden and Hartog (1909:939) cite examples like *I have a bad cold on me,* while Henry (1957:148) states that *on* can express 'physical and psychical sensations and states'. His examples include sentences such as *The heart was bad on him* 'he had a weak heart' and *That's the only dread that's on me* 'that's the only thing I'm afraid of' (see also Bliss 1984a: 149 and Moylan 1996:341–3 for similar examples).

A third context where *on* is used in a nonstandard fashion has to do with possession of some type or another. Most often it is of the 'inalienable' type, expressing an inherent physical or other property of the referent. Consider, first, examples (11) to (14):

(11) Here'd be the lovely nest, eight and nine and ten eggs they lay. And they're all spotted, brown spots *on them*. White with brown spots all on them. (Wicklow:T.F.)

(12) All the cattle had the horns *on them* that time. (Kerry: C.D.)

(13) There was another old lad used to clean windows. But I can't think the name that was *on him*. But if he got near you, you got the give of the ladder. (Dublin: P.L.)

(14) And then they christened the name *on them* Black and Tans, because they wore a black uniform and a khaki = trou' = trousers. (Dublin: J.O'B.)

Bliss (1979:309) draws attention to the Irish idiom *cé'n t-ainm atá ort*? 'What name is upon you?' and lists several instances of parallel expressions in early HE texts. Henry (1957:147–8) cites examples such as *She had white spots on her*

'(the cow) was white-spotted', and *What name did they put on him*? from Roscommon dialect (Henry 1957:150). Corrigan (1997b:159) reports forms like *I never heard any name on it* in SAE. But possession can also be less inalienable, as in (15) and (16):

(15) But he saw the police and the raiders comin' in, and there was hardly a shred of clothes *on any of 'em,* and they all covered with blood. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(16) And a bull that time was dangerous, because they all had horns, and there used be no ring *on 'em* or anything. (Clare: C.O'B.)

The constructions illustrated so far can all be said to display a particular pattern of thematic organisation of the utterance or 'theme—rheme' structure, whereby the (typically) personal 'logical' subject is placed in the position of the rheme, i.e. at the end of the clause or utterance, and cast in the form of a prepositional phrase in direct imitation of the corresponding Irish pattern. As is well known, StE favours the opposite strategy: personal subjects are usually thematic, i.e. clause- or utterance-initial. Henry (1957:133) captures the same HE tendency by stating that in these kinds of construction, and especially when *be* is the predicate, 'the prepositional [preposition followed by a pronoun] ordinarily specifies the logical subject', while 'the verbal element (represented mostly by *to be* and supplements) recedes before the relational (represented by prepositional adjuncts)'. The resulting patterns, as Henry points out, illustrate the 'substantival' or 'nominal' character of HE (Henry 1957:132; for a similar characterisation of HebE and WE, see Sabban 1982:447 ff. and Thomas 1994: 139, respectively).

A fourth group of distinctive uses comprises miscellaneous uses of *on* in contexts where StE would require some other preposition or, sometimes, an entirely different type of construction. In (17)–(19) the meaning of *on* is very similar to the 'dativus incommodi' cases discussed above. The syntax is different, though, in the sense that the main departure from StE is in the choice of the preposition and prepositional structure rather than in the whole clausal structure.

(17) So = they ran out of provisions anyway, in their hideout, and = and the lots were casted to see who'd have to go for the food to Limerick city. So anyway didn't the lots, the lots fell *on Shanahan,* he had to go. (Clare: M.F.) '…the lots fell to Shanahan…'

(18) Boys and girls and all, he learned 'em all to play on the fiddle. But he always told them about the fairy reel, but he never learned it to 'em, for they'd play it back *on himself.* (Clare: F.K.) '…they'd play it back to him to his detriment.'

(19) They were pelting 'im with rotten spuds and all that kind of thing, and great sport *on him*. (Clare: F.K.) '…and had great sport at his expense.'

In (20), we are dealing with a similar nonstandard choice of *on,* here instead of *to,* to indicate the person affected by some (usually negative) action. This example may be compared with Henry's (1957:149) example *It'll do no harm on you:*

(20) "No way!" You'd get three barrels of apples for twenty-five bob, that time […] But we do = I just done it *on Joe Connolly, bec*ause he was a bit of a Charlie, as I * told you. (Dublin: M.L.)

Further examples of *on* include cases like (21) and (22), where *on* replaces the StE *in* and *at,* respectively, but this time with no negative implications:

(21) I was just reading it *on the paper* here. (Wicklow: J.N.)

(22) They do be shooting there couple of times a week or so. And the F.C.A. comes in the evening-time […] They come there Sunday, they are not *on it* today. (Wicklow: D.M.)

Joyce (1910/1988:30) observes similar use of *on* in a sentence like *Oh that news was on the paper yesterday*. Henry (1957:147–8) treats this type under the heading of 'local' uses of the preposition *on* and cites examples such as *There's only 14 houses on this townland* and *The people should leave them on the fair* '(when the price of cattle is too high) people shouldn't buy at the fairs'. Moylan (1996: 343–4) reports on what he terms 'locational' usage in Kilkenny dialect, one of his examples being *You'd be gettin' up in the mornin' an' the stars would be on the sky*.

9.2.2 Parallels in other varieties

While most of the uses of *on* illustrated above appear to be peculiar to HE (and some Scottish) dialects, the 'local' one is attested in some southwestern BrE dialects. *EDD* cites examples such as *I see'd it on the paper* and *It was on the paper this morning* from Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset (*EDD,* s.v. *on* 6.). My Yorkshire (SED) corpus also contained an instance of what might be considered 'local' *on* in the following exchange:

(23) [I see. And the sheep get maggoted, don't they?] Oh, they'll get struck if—if there's any wet *on 'em,* about 'em, or nasty about the tail, […] (SED/Yorkshire: Dent)

Of the other uses, *EDD* records *on* in the sense 'to the disadvantage of; against' only in Scotland and Ireland (*EDD,* s.v. *on* 13.). Given that no occurrences

of this use were found in any of the BrE dialect corpora I have had at my disposal, it is safe to conclude that the HE usage has its roots in the corresponding Irish system. The same holds for the use of *on* to express physical or mental states or sensations and the various types of possession described above: *EDD* does not recognise these usages at all, and with one exception, no occurrences were found in the BrE dialect corpora. In the following extract from the Somerset corpus *on* is apparently used to denote inalienable possession in the physical sense:

(24) [How do you go about it [i.e. shearing the sheep with handshears]?] Set en [him] on his back and open up the belly *on en* wi [with] your shears and go down one side and turn en over. Then the other. (Somerset: J.M.)

It could be argued that the *on* in (24) does not represent the same kind of usage as the HE *on,* but rather stands for *of.* This is common usage in all kinds of contexts not only in the southwestern dialects but in other conservative BrE dialects, too. My English dialect corpora contained instances of phrases like *some on 'em* 'some of them', *a bit on it* 'a bit of it', *two on 'em* 'two of them', recorded in the southwest and Yorkshire, and many more are cited in *EDD* from numerous other dialects (*EDD,* s.v. *on* 8.; see also Melchers 1972:139 on such usage in Yorkshire). On the other hand, as *EDD* notes, in some dialects such as that of Northumberland, the prepositional phrase *on't* 'on it' is systematically used instead of the possessive pronoun *its* in speaking of the body parts of animals, in particular (*EDD,* s.v. *on* 8.). This seems rather restricted as compared with the HE usage, which, as was seen above, covers not only inalienable physical possession but all kinds of (more or less inalienable) possession, including even names.

A further consideration speaking for a Celtic source for the bulk of the nonstandard uses of *on* in HE is the existence of similar patterns in HebE. Thus, Sabban (1982) describes the use of *on* for what she refers to as possession, physiological and psychical states, but adds that these are not so prominent in HebE as in Anglo-Irish. She provides some examples from literary sources but only one from her corpus of spoken HebE:

(25) And every (time) *the pain would come on me,* that's when she was travelling. (25.II.191; cited in Sabban 1982:448)

A second group distinguished by Sabban consists of cases which she characterises as 'konkretes oder metaphorisches 'Besitzverhältnis" (Sabban 1982: 448). I have above dealt with similar cases under the heading of 'inalienable possession'. Again, Sabban cites examples only from literary sources, which leads her to conclude that in HebE these uses reflect earlier forms of speech which do not correspond to the present-day usage (Sabban 1982:449). However, my Tiree database contained a number of occurrences of *on* used in this sense,

which indicates that this pattern still exists at least in some varieties of HebE. Witness, for instance, the examples in (26)–(29):

(26) […] because the body of that Swede was for a night in the barn. It might—and there was no head *on the Swede*. (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(27) […] And he—there was a big whiskers *on him,* they were telling my father. (SA 1970/105/A/Tiree: H.K.)

(28) […] And it was put in a place made like a basket—oh what do you call that—a *poitroid, cléibh,* and there was two handles *on it*. (SA 1970/ 104/B/Tiree: H.K.)

(29) I was up there along with my mother, the family of us was up there hearing that gramophone. And it was a big horn that was *on it,* it was no [not] a box at all but this big horn. (SA 1970/97/A/Tiree: H.K.)

Sabban's data include more examples of a third type of *on,* which corresponds to the 'dativus incommodi' uses attested in HE. The following two were recorded in Skye:

(30) The plants would die *on me*. (P&P, Skye; cited in Sabban 1982:451)

(31) The little boy disappeared *on her*. (No. 38, P&P; cited in Sabban 1982:452)

In this connection, Sabban quotes similar examples from several sources on Anglo-Irish, from Highland English provided by Bähr (1974:166), and from southwestern Scottish English by McFarlane (1922–24:187). My data from Tiree also contained one instance of the 'dativus incommodi' use of *on:*

(32) Lock the door *on him*. He's no getting in. (SA 1979/104/A/Tiree: H.K.)

Sabban does not mention the use of *on* in the 'local' sense described above, but there were again some such occurrences in my HebE database, for example:

(33) There was a dun, I don't know what you […]
[A fort]
[…] a fort and it was all women that was *on it*.
[What was it called?]
The Fort of the Maidens. It was all maidens that was *on that fort*.
(SA 1969/157/A/Tiree: D.S.)

(34) That's what happened to Hugh MacKinnon. The house he was living, he had two aunties and they left him the house. It's *on the back of the school-house* in Scarinish today. (SA 1979/105/A/Tiree: H.K.)

Sabban's conclusion is that the three patterns of *on* she has found in 'Celtic English' (i.e. HebE) derive from Gaelic and must not be confused with some other, superficially similar patterns such as *tell on (somebody)* or *walk out on (somebody),* which are of English ancestry (1982:459). According to her analysis, the latter display a close relationship between the verb and the preposition, as shown by the bracketing, whereas in the HebE patterns the same kind of relationship obtains between the preposition and the following noun. Thus, the correct bracketing for the HebE patterns would be *die (on somebody), hide something (on somebody), be away (on somebody),* etc. (Sabban 1982:458–9). The same analysis can in my view be extended to most of the HE usages of *on*. The 'local' uses, as mentioned above, are perhaps an exception in that they may well represent 'general vernacular' forms of speech rather than be features unique to HE or HebE.

Finally, it is of some interest to note that the Welsh dialects of English also exhibit traces of influence from the prepositional system of Welsh. Parry comments on the SAWD data on the preposition *on* as follows:

> In Welsh, AR 'on' corresponds to English OF in expressions such as *The name of the farm (Yr enw ar y fferm),* and this construction is paralleled in SWW [south-western WE] in phrases such as the following that are recorded in IM [Incidental Material]: *the name on it* D[yfed]/Cdg [Cardiganshire] 2; *another name on that* D/Cdg 4; *There's no name on them* D/Pem[broke] 9; *I don't think there is a name on it* D/Cth [Carmarthenshire] 4; *There's no name on that* D/Cth 5; *No special name on it* D/Cth 6; *You didn't have no other name on them* D/Cth 11.
> (Parry 1979:161)

Similar contact influence occurs in the northern WE dialects, as has been demonstrated by Penhallurick (1991). His data from the Counties of Gwynedd and Clwyd include forms such as *there's a special name on that* and *is there any name at all on it?*. Like Parry (1979), Penhallurick derives these from the corresponding Welsh expression *yr enw ar* lit. 'the name on' (1991:207).

9.3 The preposition *in*

9.3.1 Functions of in *in HE dialects*

Though somewhat less conspicuous than *on,* the preposition *in* has also developed several uses which can be considered peculiar to HE dialects. Most of these are centred around the simple prepositional phrase *in it,* which has generally

been regarded as a calque on the Irish *ann* 'in it' or 'in existence' (see, e.g. Joyce 1910/1988:25; Henry 1957:144 ff.; Moylan 1996:334). The meanings expressed by *in it* can, however, be further broken down into finer categories. The following description of the uses of *in* is based on the data drawn from the HE corpus, but, as before, comparisons will be made with the findings of other studies and especially with those reported in Henry (1957). Some of the other studies devote considerably less attention to *in* than *on* or some other prepositional uses. For instance, van Hamel (1912) overlooks *in* altogether.

I will begin with the most 'literal' meaning of *in (it),* namely that denoting concrete location in some place. The 'local' use was the most common function of *in* and is illustrated by (35)–(38):

(35) They'd start their home wherever the horse'd lie down. There was nobody living there, nobody at all. There was acres and miles of land just for to live *in it*. (Clare: M.F.)

(36) Oh, that was * a public-house all right. I remember it. And drank *in it,* meself. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(37) Err, yes, * as you go down now, and into Glendalough […] She's [i.e. her house is] on the left-hand side of the road, because I was *in it* a couple of years ago. (Wicklow: M.K.)

(38) Yeah. Ah, Bray is a big place. It's only five mile away, was you never *in it*? (Wicklow: J.N.)

The StE for *in it* in these examples would simply be *there* or sometimes *in there*. Henry (1957:146) speaks of 'local and temporal' uses of *in* under the heading of 'minor usages', but his examples make it clear that he does not refer to the concrete local sense, e.g. *Why didn't you say that in the start*? and *I didn't see him in twenty years*.

The next category, almost as common as the local one, involves the notion of location in the metaphorical sense, i.e. existence. In the following examples *in it* clearly conveys the idea of existence in the general sense:

(39) […] that time there was no schools like, for these retarded people. But she = learned the deaf and dumb alphabet out of Moore's Almanac, that there used to be *in it* at the time, and she taught them away as good as she could like, and […] (Clare: F.K.)

(40) Put it in the barrels an' salt it and they'd tell you that = there's no beatin' that […] Oh salmon*, there's no mistake *in it*. Salmon is good. (Kerry: D.B.)

(41) Oh, we la' = last winter wasn't that cold, wet. And the few heavy frost, and there was only the one bit of snow *in it* last year. (Wicklow: D.M.)

It is hard to find simple equivalents of this type of prepositional phrase in StE, whereas a parallel exists in Irish in the form of the prepositional pronoun *ann* 'in-it'. The 'existential' *in it* of HE is amply recorded in other studies. Thus, Joyce (1910/1988:25) cites examples like *the weather that's in it is very hot*. Henry (1957:144) considers existence to be one of the three major uses *of in* in HE, his illustrative examples including sentences such as *There's no doubt in it* 'no doubt exists' and *Go while the candle's in it* '…before the candle goes out'. Bliss (1984a:149) ascribes the meaning 'in existence' or 'there' to *in it* but notes that a 'considerable periphrasis' is necessary to render the exact meaning in StE. Moylan (1996:334–6) provides documentation of a similar existential meaning of *in it* in Kilkenny speech.

The third major use of *in* is closely related to the previous one but focuses on the presence rather than existence of somebody or something in some place. The examples in (42)–(45) help to establish the distinction:

(42) Yeah. But eh, there was some island, like, where there was a man living. And he was marooned, like, and there was no one *in it* but himself, like. (Clare: F.K.)

(43) And I had to bring it out there by lorry, by tractor. = And the tractor = on the rail, you […] Whatever was *in it* was the good share of turf an' all right. (Kerry: M.C.)

(44) They'd speak a lot of Irish. Well, they spoke Irish, but God, I think, well, I didn't know them. I wasn't in this part of the world, when they were *in it*. (Wicklow: M.K.)

(45) Down in the old home-place. There's a nephew of mine *in it* at the present. (Wicklow: D.M.)

This use is noticeably less common than the first two but is also documented in previous studies. Henry's examples include sentences such as *Who's in it*? 'who's there?' and *There's a good crowd in it* '…present' (Henry 1957:144). His glosses reveal that the StE for *in it* in this kind of use is either *there or present*. Moylan (1996:334) treats presence and existence as points on a continuum rather than as different notions, but cites examples like *Were there many in it*? and *There were a great crowd in it*, which are comparable to my examples above.

The fourth function of *in* has to do with the expression of some inherent quality or property of something. In (46) and (47) it is of a mental nature, while (48) and (49) represent inherent physical properties. Note that we now

have some variation in the prepositional phrase: three of the examples involve *in* followed by a noun or a personal pronoun instead of *it*.

(46) [Do you have to train them especially for this purpose or?] Well, you do, ah, if it's in a dog he'll train himself, if the goodness is *in 'im*. Well, you know, = if it's not in, you want to train them. If the readiness is not there, isn't it like a = like a child? (Wicklow: C.C.)

(47) 'President Kiely'. Did you hear of him? Did you not? = Well, I think 'President Kiely' could have been shell-shocked, you know? And that was, this was the kink that was *in him*. Well, when we were = he lived in George's Pocket. (Dublin: P.L.)

(48) Oh, the pollack is nice fish for eating though. Ah there's = th' = there's lot o' bone *in the conner*. (Kerry: D.B.)[2]

(49) You see that fort is = the wall that is *in it* now I think is = it's fifteen feet wide in the base. (Kerry: M.C.)

Again, Henry (1957) and Moylan (1996) document similar usages in the Roscommon and Kilkenny dialects: *The last isn't in it* 'it hasn't lasting quality', *He hadn't the size in him* 'he wasn't big' (Henry 1957:145); *The roguery is in 'em*'...bred into them', *'Tis some kind of a kink is in her* 'it's some inborn quirk of personality she has' (Moylan 1996:337). The StE equivalent of the prepositional phrase varies from one case to another: it can be rendered by a simple *there,* as in (46) and possibly (49), or by a completely different clausal structure with *have* as the predicate verb, as in (47) and (48).

The meaning of *in* in the fifth type is best described as involvement. Consider the following examples:

(50) […] there wasn't any big thing carried on, like err = I mean now, like, any home work in a big way, like, apart from = maybe they might be making the báiníns and the things, you know, the women could be […] *in it,* but I never heard anything about that. (Clare: M.F.)

(51) JF: Oh yes, it was a public-house that time. Mrs. F: And then it sort of died out, and then the man that was *in it,* a certain Defoe that was *in it,* he sold the licence, you see. (Wicklow: Mrs. F.)

(52) But as I say, if the race between the fishermen, if Mike's boat was in, he we' = he was a certainty to = [laughs] whoever was *in it,* he was a certainty to win. (Dublin: L.F.)

Though clearly distinguishable from the other meanings of *in it* and not so infrequent either, this particular use has not been explicitly discussed in previous studies. Bliss (1984a:149) cites a similar example, though: *He was a good footballer when he was in it,* which he glosses as '…before he gave up playing'.

Yet another category is formed by cases in which *in* appears to have been used instead of some other preposition for some reason or another. Thus, in (53) from the Clare data the prepositional phrase indicates the person affected by a mental state much in the same way as *on* does (cf. the discussion in 9.2.1 above):

(53) […] 'twas just starting to break day. Birds was starting to sing and things like that. The worry that was *in him* entirely for the father and mother'd be up; they'd kill him! (Clare: F.K.)

On the other hand, Henry (1957:145–6) writes that *in* is used in Roscommon dialect in connection with 'psychical sensations', e.g. *Anyone that had a groan in them 'd have to groan* 'anyone who had any feeling…'. He also notes the existence of Irish parallels for this type of expression (1957:146). Other occurrences *of in* pro *on* or *into* included the following:

(54) But they = they killed a few lads *in* = *in* = that day. They saw 'em runnin', like, = an' they shot 'em. (Clare: J.N.)

(55) Ah, there's = I = I might meet somebody, but = many days I wouldn't have anybody. = You wouldn't take any notice of that, when you live *in* your own. (Clare: M.V.)

(56) An' one of the skulls = an' a rat had got in *in it* […] (Clare: M.V.)

While it is hard to pin down any particular reason for the choice of *in* instead of *on* in (54) and (55) above, it would seem possible to find an explanation for the use of *in* pro *into:* as Hayden and Hartog (1909:939) point out, Irish has no distinction corresponding to *in* versus *into,* and therefore *in* is commonly used in HE in the sense 'into'. In my database, however, this is not so prominent as could be expected.

Finally, *in* appears in connection with the verb *live* in some almost idiomatic expressions like *live in the sea/hard work*. These may have been formed on the basis of some Irish expression, but none of my sources has been able to confirm this. Several occurrences were found in the Kerry data. Consider, for example, the following:

(57) Very s' = * very small farmers. Oh, they lived *in the sea,* fishing more or less […] *In the sea* they lived in that = they didn't make much in the land that time. (Kerry: C.D.)

(58) Well, you take about ten pounds of butter off of that churn. [[…] That was hard work anyway, wasn't it?] That was desperate […] they lived *in hard work*. (Kerry: M.C.)

9.3.2 Parallels in other varieties

The Irish background to most of the uses illustrated above seems more than likely. It is particularly clear with the pattern *in it* in its existential and other related meanings. This is indirectly confirmed by *EDD,* which mentions *in it* in the sense 'there', 'present' but cites examples from Irish sources only.[3] On the other hand, my BrE dialect database did contain a handful of occurrences of *in it,* some of which appear to be similar to the HE usages. Consider, for example, the following recorded from the southwestern dialects and from Yorkshire:

(59) [And what would you do when you started to build a hedge?] Well, you'd chop down all the big wood first, see, used (to) be great big wood *in it,* big's round your leg, see; you'd chop down all that and leave some nice sticks for to lay down. (Brompton Regis, Somerset: H.E.; quoted from Wakelin 1986:134)

(60) [Did you notice that older people spoke differently when you were a young man?]
I don't know there's much difference *in it* today what used to be years ago. (Somerset: J.M.)

(61) [Can you tell me anything about the ranters?] Ranters? Well, what do you—right […] Well, aye, I can, I can.
[How they used to go on?]
Oh, I can tell you about the ranters, because I were brought up *in it*. (SED/Yorkshire: Skelmanthorpe)

Of these, especially the first one resembles the existential use of the HE *in it*. Yet there is a vast difference in the frequencies of use of *in it* in the meanings at issue: there were dozens of occurrences in each of the corpora from the HE dialects as against some half a dozen in the combined corpora from the BrE dialects. What also suggests Irish influence is the clear difference which obtained in the frequencies of use of *in it* between the rural HE dialects and Dublin speech.

9.4 The preposition *with*

The preposition *with* occupies a special place in the grammar of HE in the sense that it has several seemingly unrelated functions. Thus, apart from its standard instrumental and 'comitative' meaning, it is used in HE dialects to

denote agency and/or instrumentality, cause or result of an action or a state, possession, and even certain kinds of temporal relationships. As in the case of *on* and *in,* the corresponding Irish usages loom large behind these diverse functions, although some of them are also paralleled by earlier English usage.

I will begin my discussion with what turned out to be the most prominent nonstandard use of *with* in the HE corpus, namely the expression of the duration of a state or an activity. In (62)–(66) *with* has the meaning 'for', 'for the duration of', or 'X time ago':

(62) Hugh Curtin is buried *with years,* but his grandchildren are there now. (Clare: C.O'B.) '…has been buried for years,…'

(63) He was the chied of the police, he, oh, he's dead *with long,* he was = he was nearly ninety years when he died. (Kerry: D.B.) '…he died long ago…'

(64) […] them copper-mines are closed now *with the long number of years,* I do not remember them to be opened at all. (Kerry: M.C.) '…have been closed now for a long number of years,…'

(65) But I didn't cut it [turf] now *with the last three years,* I couldn't = I couldn't manage it, and it is = it is why I buys = I buys turf. (Kerry: M.McG.) '…haven't cut it now for the last three years,…'

(66) I didn't hear him playin' *with years an' years*. Maybe he isn't able to play at all now. (Clare: C.O'B.) 'I haven't heard him playing for years and years…'

The discussion on the HE system of perfects above (see section 6.2) showed the temporal use of *with* to be particularly common with the 'extended-now' perfect, and indeed, most of the tokens occurred in that type of context. An example of another kind of context, with 'definite past' time reference, is given in (67), while (68) illustrates a reference to future time and a slightly different temporal meaning of *with,* namely 'in (a matter of)' or 'within the space of':

(67) And = they fought = from the three of 'm [forts] = *with one day*. That was the time of Cromwell's men. (Kerry: D.B.)
'…for one day.'

(68) It [Irish] have died away, our language is dying away = *with a few years,* you know. (Kerry: J.F.)
'…in a few years' time/within the space of a few years,…'

In section 6.2.5 I discussed the Irish parallel for the temporal uses of *with* and the clear concentration of this feature in the (south)western rural dialects, which is a clear indication of Irish substratum influence. Despite the prominence of temporal *with* in these dialects, few of the previous works have paid attention to it. Joyce (1910/1988:27) associates this usage with the 'uneducated people of the South and West', whom he reports as producing such expressions as *I lived in Cork with three years*. For Joyce, too, the origin of the temporal meaning of *with* lies in the corresponding Irish expressions involving the preposition *le* (ibid.). For some reason or other, neither Hayden and Hartog (1909) nor van Hamel (1912) discuss temporal *with* at all, and it is similarly absent from the otherwise thorough treatment of Henry (1957). Henry does mention it in his subsequent study (Henry 1958:144), where he notes that in various localities throughout the country *with* is used like Irish *le* to express 'a lapse of time', his example being *he's gone with five years* 'he's gone this 5 years'. In another connection (Henry 1958:135), he comments on this feature saying that it is probably not so widespread as the agentive use (see, however, the discussion below). The temporal use of *with* is also dealt with by Harris (1993:171), who quotes an example from Lunny's (1981) description of the dialect of Ballyvourney, Co. Cork. Most recently, Moylan (1996) reports similar usage in Kilkenny dialect, Ó hÚrdail (1997) in Cork and Limerick, e.g. *I have that with a good while* (Moylan 1996:355–6), *I didn't see him with years* (Ó hÚrdail 1997:188).

Further documentation can be found in earlier HE sources, though (once again) not in those dating back as far as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By contrast, there is no shortage of occurrences in nineteenth-century texts. The following examples are drawn from a nineteenth-century letter from an Irishwoman who had emigrated to Australia from Co. Galway:

(69) It was the hotest summer in Queensland *with the last 20years*. […] I dont think we had a wet day *with the last 12 mounths*. […] My brother Patt is out the Bush *with the last 14 Mounths*. (*The Burke Letters,* No. 3, 1884; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:156)

Temporal *with* is in all likelihood confined to HE dialects, as there is no mention of it either in *EDD* or *SND*. Neither have I found any examples in the BrE dialect corpora or in the literature on the BrE dialects. The case for substratum influence is unusually clear.

Besides time, HE *with* is used to express agency in passive constructions. This usage is illustrated in (70)–(73), all from the HE corpus:

(70) That was his ration, a trout and a half * a day. [Q: And * the other half?] Yeah, the other half would be = be ate, you see, *with the monster or the serpent*. (Clare: F.K.)
'…by the monster or the serpent.'

(71) They're [i.e. the deamons] supposed to be taken *with the Divil,* you know, and they're goin' for disturbance through the world. (Clare: M.R.)
'…taken by the Devil,…'

(72) And it [J.F.'s father's old house] was sold on err = *with an auctioneer.* (Wicklow: J.F.)

(73) A man with the name of Kellett. I did mention his name before, he was taken away *with the Tans* [the Black and Tans]. (Dublin: P.L.)

Closely related to the agentive function is the use of *with* to indicate the means or instrument with which an action is performed. This is exemplified by (74) and (75) from the corpus.

(74) He's [J.N.'s dog] got blind eye […] He must have got hit *with a car or something,* I think. (Wicklow: J.N.)

(75) And he had a moustache, and when he'd get a bit err = well oiled *with the porter,* he'd pull the moustache, and he'd twist it. (Wicklow: T.F.)

Contrary to Henry's observation mentioned above, the agentive and instrumental uses of *with* appear to be less common in HE speech than the temporal one. In fact, there were only half a dozen occurrences of the agentive/ instrumental type in the whole corpus, while the temporal uses were more than five times more numerous with their total of 32 occurrences (cf. Table 6.8 in section 6.2.5). Nonetheless, the examples cited by Henry (1957:142; see also Henry 1958:135) and Moylan (1996:353–4) provide ample proof of the agentive/ instrumental use of *with* in rural HE dialects. Like temporal *with,* these usages have a parallel in the Irish preposition *le,* which besides the temporal meaning can express agency and instrumentality. Examples from *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* include *Toghladh an dún leis* 'the fort was stormed by him' (s.v. *le* 15) and *Gearr le scian é* 'cut it with a knife' (s.v. *le* 14.(a)). (See also van Hamel 1912:283–4 and Henry 1957:142.)

What is of particular interest here is the existence of similar agentive usage in earlier English. Henry (1957:142) points out that *with* was used to express the agent in Shakespeare's language, while Moylan (1996:353) traces this usage even farther back to Chaucer. Given that clear superstratal parallels exist, it would seem reasonable to ascribe the HE usage to the Chaucerian and Shakespearian models, with Irish providing merely reinforcing influence. However, my survey of the uses of *with* in the last EModE subperiod of the Helsinki Corpus (1640–1710) yielded no occurrences of agentive *with,* which can be taken to mean that this usage had become obsolete or at least extremely rare by that time.

On the other hand, *EDD* (s.v. *with* 2.) cites a couple of examples of agentive *with* from the northern BrE dialects and from south Cheshire, e.g. *He got bitten with a dog*. This suggests that the agentive use holds on in at least some BrE dialects. By comparison, my BrE dialect corpora contained only one occurrence of the agentive use (…*and they were respected with everybody,* recorded in Yorkshire), while there were three instrumental cases, e.g. *Oh, I've had my leg crushed with the nether millstone*. Both uses are attested in the Scottish dialects (*SND* s.v. *wi* prep. 1.(1i–ii)), and are probably better-established there, at least judging on the basis of the note *SND* adds to its description of instrumental *wi:* 'Now only dial, in Eng.'. The status of *with* in passive clauses is also confirmed by Miller (1993:131), who states that it 'is quite common in the language of educated speakers [of ScE]'.

The earliest HE texts do not appear to have *with* in the agentive or instrumental functions, but again tokens can be found in nineteenth-century correspondence. Below is an example from a letter from an Irish emigrant to Australia:

(76) Patt Neylon is gone a good way up the country. He is hired *with a* [*erased:* large] *squatter* that Keep a Dairy and a large farming buisness. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 11, 1861; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:87)

Yet another, perhaps less salient, feature of HE dialects is the use of *with* to express the cause of a state, event or action. This is illustrated by the following examples from the corpus:

(77) And he told us, when he went out first, for the first eighteen months he could hardly free the teeth = from each other *with the cold*. (Kerry: D.B.)
'…because of the coldness.'

(78) […] and you actually starved *with the hunger*. (Kerry: M.C.)
'…starved for hunger.'

(79) Nobody = I had tell of nobody dying around here, mind you, = *with the* = *the famine*. (Kerry: M.C.)
'…dying…of hunger.'

The causal use of *with* has also been documented by van Hamel (1912:283–4), Henry (1957:143) and Moylan (1996:354), although the examples given by the last two are different from mine in that the complement of the preposition has a human referent, e.g. *No one can open their mouth with ye* 'you are making so much noise that we cannot be heard speaking' (Henry 1957:143). At any rate, the Irish preposition *le* again offers a parallel for the HE usage. For instance, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* cites expressions such as *Bhí mé lag le teas na gréine* 'I was weak from the heat of the sun' (s.v. *le* 20.), *Fágadh leis an ocras é* 'he perished of

hunger' (s.v. *fág le* 2.), where *leis* is the third-person singular pronominal form of *le,* and *Níor chuala mé é le gleo na bpáistí* 'I didn't hear it because of the noise of the children'. Of these, the last one especially is comparable with Henry's example cited above.

EDD (s.v. *with* 3.) recognises the use of *with* in the sense 'owing to; in consequence of; by means of, and provides examples from the Scottish and northern dialects of English. In most of these the prepositional complement is a present participle (e.g. in *Wi' bein' frae hame I miss'd him*), which distinguishes them from the HE usage. However, *SND* (s.v. *wi* prep. 1.(2i)) records the use of *wi* in negative sentences to denote inability or the causal relationships of 'because of, owing to', an example of this being *For gin they hadna claes, faith they cou'dna fecht wi' cauld.* It should also be noted that the possibility of a superstratal model for causative *with* exists, at least with regard to verbs like *die* or *starve,* which according to *OED* (s.v. *die* I.1.b; *starve* I.2.a & b) could formerly take *with* alongside *of* and *for.*[4] On the other hand, HE causative *with* appears to be lexically less restricted than its BrE counterpart, emulating thus the corresponding Irish patterns.

One more use of *with* deserves to be mentioned, although it did not occur in my database, namely that denoting possession and physical attributes. Henry (1957:141) illustrates this by the following examples from the dialect of North Roscommon, and similar instances are recorded in Kilkenny by Moylan (1996: 352–3):

(80) The money is with them 'they have plenty of money'.

(81) The weight was with him 'he was heavy'.

Both Henry and Moylan consider this type to derive from the possessive use of Irish *le* (for an example, see the quotation from Henry 1957:132 in section 9.1). Their account is indirectly supported by a similar feature of WE which, as Parry writes, is built on the model of the corresponding Welsh construction:

> HAVE in Welsh is expressed by BOD 'be' followed by GYDA 'with' plus noun or pronoun that denotes the possessor, e.g. *Mae car gyda ni* 'We have a car', literally 'There is a car with us'. This construction is paralleled in SWW [southern Welsh English] in *There's no horns with the sheep round this way* D[yfed]/Cth [Carmarthenshire] 5.
>
> (Parry 1979:160)

In section 9.2.1 I cited a HE example in which the preposition *on* was used to express the same type of possession *(All the cattle had the horns on them that time).* The WE predilection for *with* is also confirmed by Thomas (1994:139), who notes that WE has such patterns as *There's no luck with the rich,* instead of StE *The rich have no luck.*

On the basis of my data, HebE does not use *with* to express possession, except for 'possession' of physical ailments, as is shown by the following examples from my Tiree database:

(82) He's very bad *with rheumatics*. (SA 1970/110/A/Tiree: H.K.)

(83) If you were bad *with toothache* if you would drink out of that your toothache was away. (SA 1969/157/A/Tiree: D.S.)

Similar examples can also be found in the nineteenth-century HE letters,[5] though none occurred in the HE corpus (cf. however, Bliss's (1984a:149) example *He was taken bad with the jaundice*). There is a Celtic parallel involving yet again the preposition *le*. As an example of this usage *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (s.v. *olc* 3.) cites *Bhí mé go holc le slaghdán* 'I was bad with a cold'. But *with* also occurs in this function in BrE dialects: *EDD* (s.v. *bad* 2.(a)) records *Awfu' bad wi roomatics* in Cheshire and *He's tekken bad wi' th' ohd complaaint*…in north Lincolnshire.

Sometimes the preposition *in* is used in HebE to indicate possession in a way similar to *with* in HE or WE:

(84) The money was in the family of these Campbells. 'These Campbells had plenty of money.' (SA 1970/96/B/Tiree: H.K.)

Like its HE counterpart, HebE *with* can introduce the agent and also the instrument in passive structures, as can be seen in (85) and (86):

(85) And the farm was owned after him *with another brother*. (SA 1970/94/ A/Tiree: D.S.)

(86) And the doctor was killed on New Year's Day on the Sliabh, Baugh Sliabh, *with a gun* […] And something went wrong with the gun and she went off and knocked off the top of his head. (SA 1970/105/B/ Tiree: H.K.)

Of the diverse uses of *with* discussed above, the temporal and causal ones are most likely due to direct influence from the corresponding Irish prepositional patterns, while the case is not so straightforward with the agentive and especially instrumental uses, which have superstratal parallels. As for agentive *with,* an important factor militating against (primarily) superstratal origin is the observed lack of occurrences in the last EModE subperiod of the Helsinki Corpus, which is an indication of the peripheral status of the agentive use in that period. Furthermore, the evidence from BrE dialects is rather scant, and— as in so many other cases—it is confined to the Scottish and northern English dialects.

9.5 The preposition *of*

Like the prepositions discussed so far, HE *of* has developed a number of nonstandard uses. Most of these are common to vernacular forms of speech throughout the British Isles, for example, the temporal use in such expressions as *of a Saturday* 'on Saturday(s)'. *EDD* (s.v. *of* 9.) records this pattern in a wide range of localities in Scotland, the north of England, the southwest and the east (see also Edwards and Weltens 1985:114). Of greater interest in this connection is the use of *of* to form a certain kind of NP structure consisting of two nouns joined by *of*. The first noun, although most often itself modified by an adjectival attribute, assumes the function of a kind of adjectival attribute to the second noun, with a clearly intensifying force. An example of this construction, which could be called 'attributive *of*', is given in (87):

(87) There was two Learys and two Murphys, Lawlor, Curtis and Hehir; seven men. And by all accounts they were all *big giants o' men*. (Clare: C.O'B.)

The pattern in (88), then, can be considered a variant of the intensifying type, popular in all varieties of English, involving phrases like *a bit of, (a) hell of,* etc. These are exemplified by (88) and (89) from the HE corpus:

(88) But err, the fellow named Joe err = Joe Connolly, he was *a bit of a Charlie,* you know. (Dublin: M.L.)
'…a bit stupid,…'

(89) Oh well, the last time I was up there in Roundwood around [at a sheep-shearing contest], seven or eight years ago, oh it was *a hell of a big entry*. (Wicklow: D.M.)

Although none of the patterns illustrated so far could be said to be peculiar to HE, attributive *of* appears to be particularly well developed and productive in these dialects. This is revealed by a further selection of examples from the HE corpus, given in (90)–(95):

(90) And there was a young fella that = his father an' mother was buried, he was right orphaned and he was *a good hardy step of a boy,* and he was hurlin'. (Clare: M.R.)

(91) […] and he, he was = fairly plain, he were *fine, fine cut of man,* too. (Kerry: D.B.)

(92) [Somebody around here told me about Hairy Lemon. Somebody around Stoney Batter. I forget now.] A strong man, *great cut of a man*. (Dublin: P.L.)

(93) […] my God, there's a river there noted, Deena River. My God, it's a great rover. He goes along over = in the valley. An' my God, 'tis *a power of river* = for salmon. (Kerry: D.B.)

(94) If it's there, it's there, and they'll [sheep-dogs] do the work with very little training. So they will. You get more—*fools of dogs,* they are as useless pun' = put sheep away on you, breaking, going through them, and […] (Wicklow: J.N.)

(95) The North's *a shock of place*. (Wicklow: J.N.)

Joyce (1910/1988:42) points out an idiomatic Irish parallel in the form of constructions such as *amadán fir* 'a fool of a man' (where *fir* is the genitive form of *fear* 'man'), but he also notes the existence of attributive *of* in EngE. However, Joyce concludes that 'it is far more general among us, for the obvious reason that it has come to us from two sources (instead of one) —Irish and English' (ibid.). Henry (1957:136) appears to concur with this view, stating that '[t]his scheme is found in a more developed form in Ir. where the linguistic means are more varied, including the use of the prepositions *do, de,* and the Attributive and Appositive Genitive.' Another researcher stressing the Irish connection is Moylan (1996:347–8), who writes that many of the functions of *of* 'are consistent with those of Ir. *de*', one of his Irish examples being *amadán de dhuine* 'a fool of a person' (cf. the form involving the genitive case cited above). Ó hÚrdail (1997:192–3), too, considers transfer from Irish as the most probable source of what he calls the 'expletive genitive'. His field-notes include examples like *a 'stail'* ('stallion') *of a man* (Ir. *stail fir*) and *a stump of a fool* (Ir. *stúmpa amadáin*). Bliss (1979) gives no account of this use of *of* in the early HE texts, but it is discussed and illustrated in his general description of present-day HE grammar (see Bliss 1984a). In that connection, he comments on the adjectival function of the first noun in such expressions as *a blackguard of a Dublin cabman* (StE: *a blackguardly Dublin cabman*) or *a soft fat slob of a girl* (Bliss 1984a:149– 50). He does not, however, mention the possibility of influence from Irish.

Henry (1957:135) refers to the documentation of a similar pattern in some dialects of Scots. It is noteworthy, though, that *SND* does not list the attributive use, nor does it appear to have been distinctive enough to be mentioned in the more recent descriptions of Scots or ScE grammar (see, e.g. McClure 1994; Miller 1993; Macafee and Ó Baoill 1997). There is similarly no record of it in *EDD*. Against this background it is not surprising that my BrE dialect corpora did not contain any occurrences other than the popular phrase *(a) bit* of (e.g. *bit of a badge or something, a bit of a kid*, etc.). Yet the attributive use of *of* is known

to have existed in English since the ME period. According to Mustanoja (1960:81–2), who treats it under the heading of 'genitive of emphatic subjective description', attributive *of* represents a further development of a 'genitive of definition', which was in ME used, for instance, with place-names such *as þe ryver of Themys* or, in late ME, with personal nouns in such expressions as *tweyn pylgrymys of Duchemen* ('two pilgrims, who were Germans') and *woman, se thy sone of Seynt John þe Evangelist* ('your son, St John'). As examples of the genitive of emphatic subjective description Mustanoja (1960:82) cites late ME expressions like *here is a fair body of a woman* ('a beautiful woman') and *he was a ryght good knyght of a yonge man*. He notes, however, that only a few instances of this pattern are recorded in late ME, and that it continues to be 'uncommon' in EModE (ibid.). Having referred to the possibility of borrowing from Old French, which has parallel constructions involving the preposition *de,* as in *chel diable de bareil* or *la lasse de povre fame,* Mustanoja arrives at the following conclusion about the subsequent developments of the genitive of emphatic subjective description:

> It is difficult to say whether the popular modern genitive of emphatic subjective description represented by expressions like *a devil of a man, a rascal of a man, a fine figure of a man, a dragon of a governess,* and *a hell of a mess* is a direct continuation of the late ME type or not. A few instances of the construction have been recorded in Elizabethan writings, but it does not become finally established until the second half of the 17th century, soon after it becomes fashionable in France (*le diable d'homme, sa canaille de mari,* etc.).
>
> (Mustanoja 1960:82–83)

To return to HE, the rather marginal status of attributive *of* in earlier English and the observed scarcity of occurrences in the data representing present-day BrE usage lend support to Joyce's view mentioned above, which ascribes the abundant use of attributive *of* in HE to the existence of both Irish and English sources for it. The definite role of the substratum is also indirectly confirmed by evidence from HebE. Four examples of attributive *of* occurred in my HebE database, which, though not that many in numerical terms, suffice to show the inventiveness of this pattern in HebE:

(96) HK: He was a great man Alasdair Mor. He was no big at all. DS: No, he was just a wee man, *a wee toddler of a man*. (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(97) He was a good fiddler there's no getting away from it. And a puny man, *an object of a man*. (SA 1970/94/A/Tiree: D.S.)

(98) MacPhee was his name: his daughter was getting, going to get married to a certain Campbell from Mannel. And it was *an old poet of a*

postmaster that came with Campbell to ask the hand of the bride. (SA 1968/248/A1/Tiree: D.S.)

(99) He was *a bit of an idiot of a man*. (SA 1970/94/B/Tiree: D.S.)

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, *of* has a number of other distinctive uses in HE besides the attributive construction, but I will not discuss them here, as they are either common in other dialects, too, or have not so far-reaching structural implications as the attributive construction. Detailed descriptions are found in Henry (1957:135–40) and in Moylan (1996:347–52).

10

FOCUSING DEVICES

10.1 Introduction

Focusing devices are so called because they serve to assign prominence to some element(s) of an utterance or a clause. 'Prominence' (or 'thematic prominence', as it is often called) is a discoursal notion which has to do with the information structure of utterances. From this perspective, some part or parts of an utterance, conceived of as a message purporting to convey the communicative intentions of the speaker, stand out from the others as being more important than them. Thus, in (1)–(4) below, *their own language, directories, a dry load of weed,* and *the wren* are the most prominent or 'focused' elements (marked here by italics).[1] Prominence can be achieved by various means, prosodic and structural, or by a combination of both, as is often the case in English. In the examples below, the focused elements have been highlighted by means of special syntactic constructions known as 'clefting', as in (1), 'pseudo-clefting', as in (2), and 'topicalisation' (sometimes also called 'fronting'), as in (3). It is also possible to highlight a constituent simply by prosodic means, as in (4), where (primary) sentence stress indicates the location of what can be called the 'information focus'.

(1) […] and when they are together, 'tis *their own language* they speak together, the Germans and the French. (Kerry: M.C.)

(2) It's just what I'm reading. Well, actually, what I do study there is *directories,* old directories. (Dublin: P.L.)

(3) […] you'd make sixty baskets in an hour […] and that was about a load. *A dry load of weed* it was. (Clare: J.N.)

(4) […] *the wren* = *the wren* is the king of the birds. (Wicklow: T.F.)

What makes the study of focusing devices interesting in the context of HE are the many dissimilarities between English and Irish in their use of focusing devices. These differences derive partly from the different word order systems

of the two languages: English, in its present-day stage in particular, is a strict subject-verb-object (SVO) language, whereas Irish—like the other Celtic languages—is, and has long been, a very consistent verb-subject-object (VSO) language. The rigidity of the VSO order, together with the fact that Irish does not use sentence stress as a focusing device, explains why one particular structural device, namely the so-called copula construction, has come to be the major means of focusing in Irish. English, as stated above, can use either structural or prosodic means, or both at the same time. The Irish copula construction, as the name suggests, involves the copula verb *is,* which in accordance with the verb-first rule of Irish always stands in initial position before the focused element. This construction is the equivalent of the English cleft construction but lacks the introductory pronoun (for further discussion and examples, see section 10.2.6). Topicalisation also exists in Irish, but as will be seen from the discussion in section 10.3.4, its use is restricted to certain types of copular clauses (including also the copula construction).

This study will concentrate on two of the aforementioned focusing devices, namely clefting and topicalisation. Although they are constructions which belong firmly to the grammar of English, the fact that they have very close parallels in Irish raises the question of substratum influence on HE. The third focusing device illustrated in (3), the pseudo-cleft construction, has a parallel in Irish, too, but it is less central there than clefting, which makes it less interesting from the contact-linguistic point of view. The fourth type, often referred to as 'equative' or 'identifying' constructions, can be considered one type of topicalisation and will be commented on in section 10.3.4.

10.2 Clefting

10.2.1 Criteria for clefts

Before looking at the HE uses of clefting and their historical and other background, it is necessary to specify the criteria used in this study for distinguishing clefts from their non-cleft counterparts. I will follow the approach adopted in Filppula (1986), which provides a detailed discussion of HE clefting, topicalisation, and other related constructions. Despite the time elapsed since its publication, I do not see any reason for revising the general approach of that study. In fact, as will be seen from the discussion below, some of my principal findings have since been corroborated by more recent research.

To begin with, the delimitation of the class of clefts requires us to draw a semantic distinction between the 'specificational' and 'predicational' readings of putative clefts such as *It is a book that Mary is reading*. This example is from Halvorsen, who states that it may, depending on the context, either specify what Mary is reading, or predicate 'the property of 'being a book which Mary is reading' of the thing which is lying on the table' (Halvorsen 1978:1). The former represents the specificational, i.e. cleft, reading, while the latter is the

predicational, non-cleft, interpretation, with the *it* referring anaphoricaily to the object lying on the table.

In some other accounts clefts are said to be 'identifying' rather than specificational in the sense that the focused constituent is identified with the indefinite variable contained in the so-called 'presupposition', which would here be *Mary is reading something*. The predicational reading is in these accounts termed 'attributive' (see, e.g. Bolinger 1972 and Gundel 1977; see also Collins 1991). As is pointed out in Filppula (1986:88–9), this approach had earlier been explored but discarded by Halliday (1967:236), who noticed that it could not handle clefts with non-NP foci. Thus, although clefts with NP foci such as *It was John who broke the window* could be said to be identifying, sentences like *It was in spite of the cold that he went swimming* could not. Halliday's own proposal was to subsume clefting under the more general headings of 'predication' and 'predicated theme' (Halliday 1967:236–9). As stated in Filppula (1986:89), the rather idiosyncratic use of the term 'predication' in this context might be too confusing, and I therefore prefer Halvorsen's view, according to which clefts are said to specify, and not predicate, some aspect of the information contained in the sentence by highlighting it as the most important part of the message. In the example above, with the adverbial focus *in spite of the cold,* clefting serves to specify the external circumstances despite which the action is said to take place.

The context of the utterance determines the semantic distinction into specificational and predicational readings and enables us to say, for example, that the construction occurring in (5) is specificational and hence an instance of clefting despite the absence of the *that*-clause, whereas the one in (6) is not, as the it there has anaphoric reference and the reading is thus predicational, i.e. non-cleft:

(5) {In old times, and maybe even today, who always inherits the farm locally, which member of the family?} 'Twould be generally the eldest son. (Clare: C.O'B.) '…that/who inherits the farm.'

(6) […] because there was a body found out = found on the strand = the followin' mornin' = drowned, and he believes it was this person. (Dublin: L.F.) '…and he believes the body was…'

Similarly, the context tells us that example (7) is an instance of clefting, despite the use of *that* as the introductory pronoun instead of the usual *it*. The visit of *your man* is already 'given' information (see below), and clefting is here used to specify and give prominence to the time of the visit (for discussion of similar examples in StE, see Quirk *et al.* 1985:1384 Note):

(7) That's about ten years ago now = your man come = come from Cork. (Kerry: D.B.)

In a number of instances in the corpus it was hard to decide between the specificational and other readings. Among these, particular problems were caused by constructions such as the one in (8):

(8) It's all rush now, in this town. (Dublin: M.L.)

Here the *it* refers to what Chafe (1970) has called 'all-encompassing states' and what Bolinger (1973) treats under the heading of 'ambient *it*'. These typically include expressions referring to weather, time, and other kinds of circumstance. I have excluded from consideration all those instances for which the specificational reading is not unambiguous enough to exclude the 'ambient *it*' interpretation and which could not be 'felicitously' continued by a *that*-clause. By these criteria, (8) and other similar expressions are not regarded as instances of clefting in this study.

10.2.2 Functions of clefting in HE dialects

Having defined the class of clefts, I now move on to investigate in some detail for what communicative purposes, and after that, to what extent, speakers of HE use clefting as a focusing device. It is evident at the outset that 'specification' in the sense defined above is far too broad a notion to capture all the different functions that clefting serves in actual discourse. In Filppula (1986), I distinguished between two main functional types of clefts, which were labelled as 'stressed-focus' (SF) and 'informative-presupposition' (IP) clefts. This distinction originates in Prince's (1978) important study of the discoursal functions of clefts. Despite the awkwardness of the terms and the emergence of rivals in more recent research (see below), I have here decided to adhere to the same terminology.

Stressed-focus clefts and informative-presupposition clefts differ in their 'presuppositions' and 'implicatures'. The former term refers to the (set of) background assumptions which the speaker assumes to be known or 'given' to the addressee. 'Givenness' means information which is either mentioned in the preceding discourse or which is somehow inferrable on the basis of the context. In the opposite case information is said to be 'new'. In SF clefts, the *that*-clause represents given information and can therefore be said to be 'presupposed'. In the made-up example above, *It is a book that Mary is reading,* the most natural context would be one in which the speaker assumes the addressee to share with him/her the presupposition *Mary is reading something,* and it is the job of the cleft construction to highlight the value, here *a book,* for the indefinite variable *something*. Example (5) above, repeated here for convenience, illustrates the same system as it operates in actual HE discourse:

(5) [In old times, and maybe even today, who always inherits the farm locally, which member of the family?]

'Twould be generally the eldest son. (Clare: C.O'B.)
'…that/who inherits the farm.'

In (5), the presupposition arising on the basis of the interviewer's question would be something like *somebody inherits the farm,* and the informant's response then specifies *the eldest son* as the value for the indefinite variable *somebody*. There is no *that*-clause in this example, and it is indeed quite commonly left out, the obvious explanation for this being its presupposed nature: what is presupposed, and hence assumed to be given to the addressee, need not be overtly spelt out. Prosodically, the *that*-clause is only weakly stressed as compared with the focused element.

Before defining 'implicatures', let us look at the other major type of clefts, the informative-presupposition clefts. The main distinguishing feature of IP clefts is the nature of the information contained in the *that*-clause: rather than being presupposed as in SF clefts, it represents here new information along with the focused element. In fact, as Prince (1978:898) writes, 'the whole point of these sentences is to inform the hearer of that very information {contained in the *that*-clause]'. Carlson captures the same phenomenon by naming this type of clefts 'all-new *it*-clefts' (Carlson 1983:235). Example (9) illustrates the IP type in HE discourse:

(9) He [i.e. Daniel O'Connell] went in to be a member of parliament couple o' times. 'Twas a member of parliament that time, not a T.D. = And = it is *in Clare, County Clare,* he was *elected.* (Kerry: M.C.)

It is clear from this example that the *that*-clause cannot be ellipted as in SF clefts. Its importance is also reflected in the stressing pattern, which always contains a normally stressed information focus (here *elected*).

The last example brings us suitably to the concept of 'implicatures'. While presuppositions are background assumptions shared by the discourse participants, implicatures represent another 'layer' of meaning conveyed by an utterance, also distinct from the 'literal' meaning, i.e. from what is actually said or 'asserted' by the speaker. The assertion in (9) is simply *He was elected in* {*from*} *County Clare,* but this does not exhaust the meaning of the utterance. By using the cleft construction instead of the 'straight' expression *He was elected*…, the speaker evidently wants to convey the additional idea that what he says is a generally known fact, which he now communicates to the addressee as a new piece of information and as something worthy of the addressee's attention (cf. Prince 1978:899–900; see also Carlson 1983:235). This additional meaning, though not overtly expressed, is nevertheless 'implicated' by the utterance, and hence constitutes the implicature associated with (9).

Implicatures are by no means restricted to IP clefts. SF clefts, like the one in (5) above, can likewise be said to implicate something, but in this case it is something different from the implicature of (9). In standard descriptions of

clefts, clefts like (5) are typically said to implicate (or imply) contrastiveness. For example, Quirk et al. (1972/1976:951) associate clefting with what they describe as 'the full implication of contrastive focus'.[2] However, it is important to note that not all SF clefts implicate contrastiveness. Thus, Collins (1991: 155) speaks of the 'widespread misconception that the highlighted element of clefts always carries contrastive focus'. As regards the instance in (5), I would argue that, instead of implicating contrastiveness, it provides in a very 'neutral' manner the answer to the question posed by the interviewer without emphasising the exclusion of the other possible answers (which are here not even suggested by the interviewer). Compare now (5) with (10), which is an even clearer example of a non-contrastive cleft:

(10) [And were they [i.e. fairs] on at cer' = certain, you know, fixed times of the year or?}
Oh, it'd be *the whole one day in every month* = that the fairs would be held in those places. (Wicklow: J.F.)

In (10), one could not felicitously insert the phrase *rather than, instead of* or *not* after the focused element, which is one of the operational tests proposed for contrastive clefts and other contrastive statements (see, e.g. Chafe 1976:35; Quirk *et al.* 1972/1976:951). Consider next a clear example of a contrastive cleft, which involves selecting one value out of a given set of alternatives to the exclusion of the others:

(11) [And did they [J.F.'s parents and grandparents] speak English or Irish?]
[…] There's more spoke Irish one time. It have died away, our language is dying away. […] It is *more English* they are speaking now. (Kerry: J.F.)

Following Carlson's (1983) 'dialogue game' approach, one could also say that contrastive clefts constitute answers to (implicit or explicit) disjunctive (or 'alternative') questions, such as the one in (11), whereas non-contrastive clefts answer what Carlson (1983:23) calls 'search questions' (or 'WH-questions'). In Filppula (1986) I made a further division among the non-contrastive clefts into 'specificational' (which represents the most neutral type), 'confirmatory', 'reassertive', and 'emphatic' ones. In this connection it suffices to note the functional versatility of SF clefts. IP clefts can likewise be divided into functional subtypes, although I would now regard the classification proposed in Filppula (1986) as too formal, because it was partially based on the syntactic type of the focused constituent rather than on discoursal considerations. A distinction was then made between 'thematic scene-setting IP clefts', 'VP-specifying IP clefts', and 'subject-specifying IP clefts'. Example (9) above illustrates the 'VP-specifying' type where prominence is assigned to some element which can be said to be moved from a VP-internal position.

Thematic scene-setting clefts, illustrated in (12), highlight the spatial or temporal scene for the action described in the *that*-clause, while in subject-specifying clefts, such as that in (13), it is the agent of the action or activity which is given prominence through clefting:

(12) You wouldn't think it's *only a few mile away* = *from here* [laughs] = [Yeah]
they kill *one another* every day. (Dublin: H.McC.)

(13) Ah there was nothing done here round, here in the Second War [...] It wasn't as *many* run off and *listed* either = only what was in the army. (Wicklow: J.F.)

An alternative classification, more consistently functional but equally clumsy as far the terminology is concerned, is suggested in Collins (1991), whose 'Type 2' and 'Type 3' clefts comprise the category of IP clefts, as I have defined them, while his 'Type 1' corresponds to the SF clefts (for further discussion, see Collins 1991, section 5.3.5). However, what matters most in this connection is awareness of the functional diversity of clefting. As will be seen from the discussion below, this is a feature which is particularly true of the HE usages.

10.2.3 Frequencies of use in HE and other dialects

Let us next consider the frequencies of use of clefting in the HE dialects investigated. Table 10.1 shows the frequencies of the two major types, SF and IP clefts (for more detailed statistics on the subtypes, see Filppula 1986:114).[3]

The figures in Table 10.1 reveal a familiar pattern, with Kerry and Clare leading the scores, Dublin trailing far behind, and Wicklow being somewhere in between. In Filppula (1986), a corpus of educated spoken BrE was used as a point of comparison. In that corpus, which at just over 40,000 words was roughly the same size as the Wicklow and Dublin corpora, the average frequency of clefting was 7 tokens per 10,000 words of text, that is, just about half of the corresponding figure for Dublin and much less than a third of the figures for Clare and Kerry. A statistical analysis of variance showed these differences to be statistically significant (see Filppula 1986:115–17).

Table 10.1 Frequencies of the two major functional types of clefting in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	*SF clefts*	*IP clefts*	N	N/*10,000*
Clare (30,000)	52	29	81	27.0
Kerry (44,000)	79	45	124	28.2
Wicklow (42,000)	55	22	77	18.3
Dublin (42,000)	37	17	54	12.9
HE total (158,000)	223	113	336	21.3

These results can be further compared with those obtained by Collins (1991) from his extensive study of the uses of clefts in the London-Lund (LL) and the Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpora. In the former corpus, which represents educated spoken BrE just like my BrE corpus (in fact, part of my corpus was drawn from the transcripts of the LL), the frequency of clefts per 10,000 words was 4.3, i.e. slightly less than in my BrE corpus. In the LOB, which is a corpus of written BrE, the corresponding figure was 5.7 (for details of the distribution across different types of text and registers, see Collins 1991:178–82). Comparing the distribution of clefts and pseudo-clefts in speech versus writing Collins notes that pseudo-clefts were over three times more popular in speech than clefts; in writing, clefts were marginally more popular. Having further investigated the effect of register and type of text, Collins concludes that clefts are more positively influenced than pseudo-clefts by such factors as formality and the degree of premeditation. These are features which are usually associated with writing (for further details, see Collins 1991:213). In the light of the findings described above, the difference between HE usage (including both rural and urban varieties) and the educated varieties of BrE is very clear.

A more valid point of comparison for the type of speech represented in the HE corpus is of course BrE vernacular as spoken by people with little formal education. An investigation of the BrE dialect corpora at my disposal revealed that clefting is there, too, rather rare as compared with HE dialects: the average frequency per 10,000 words was 4.1 (N=10) in the southwestern corpus and 6.7 (N = 10) in the Yorkshire corpus. These figures are very close to the ones obtained from the LL and LOB corpora and clearly smaller than those for the HE dialects.

Although the coverage of regional BrE dialects remains so far rather limited, the results from BrE confirm the oft-noted HE tendency to make far more extensive use of clefting than BrE. Thus, Jespersen (1974b, § 4.6(8)) states that '[t]he Irish make an excessive use of cleft sentences'. Quirk *et al.* (1985:1385–6) similarly point out uses of clefts which according to them are peculiar to HE (see the discussion below). Within the field of HE studies, observations on the HE predilection for clefting abound from the earliest research on. Hayden and Hartog (1909), discussing 'borrowing of Gaelic idioms', cite several examples of clefts, although they do not explicitly treat them as instances of clefting.[4] In one connection they associate clefting with what they describe as 'the love of periphrastic idioms, so common in French'; in another, they speak of 'the peculiar use of the impersonal verb' in expressions like *It is raining, it is* and *It is tired I am,* in which the *it is* reproduces 'the idiom of the Gaelic-speaking forbears' (Hayden and Hartog 1909:934). Joyce (1910/1988:51) comments on the use of similar constructions by saying that they are 'general in the Irish language, and quite as general in our Anglo-Irish, in imitation or translation'. The Irish model is also very much to the fore in van Hamel's (1912:277–8) discussion of the various structural possibilities offered by the HE construction.

In more recent research, Henry (1957) describes HE clefting under the heading of 'predication by means of *it's* or a variant of it'. Henry's examples contain a number of features which underline the special nature of HE clefting as compared with other varieties of English (see below). Bliss (no date; see also Bliss 1984a) appears to be the first study on HE to use the term 'clefting', which is now the standard term in the linguistic literature. According to Bliss (1984a: 146), clefting is even more common in southern HE than in Irish.

10.2.4 Syntactic and discoursal features of HE clefts

In the literature on HE and even in some standard works on English grammar it has become customary to point out the syntactic freedom enjoyed by HE clefts as compared with their counterparts in other varieties. This aspect of HE clefts was to some extent confirmed by the data from my HE corpus, but what emerged as more important than syntax was the interplay of syntactic and discourse-functional features, which gave HE clefts a distinctive flavour not evidenced in other dialects.

Among the 'purely' syntactic features, the syntactic category of the focused element displayed some deviations from at least StE usage. As reported in Filppula (1986), (a part of) a VP can occur in the focus position in HE, as in (14) from the HE corpus:

(14) [Have many people left this area at all, or = or given up farming at all or?]
Ah, very little's give up farming round this area. It's *looking for more land* a lot of them are. (Wicklow: J.N.)

This pattern appears, however, to be extremely rare in actual speech. The HE corpus contained only this one token. Another instance occurred in some additional data I obtained from the archives of the Department of Irish Folklore at University College Dublin; it is from a transcript of an interview with one of the Clare informants included in this study:

(15) I don't know was it football or *kickin' = or hurlin'* they were. (Clare: M.R.)

More examples of clefts with VP focus can be found in previous work on HE syntax. Henry (1957:193) cites *Was it drinkin' she was? and It must be workin' for her he was* from Roscommon dialect. Moylan's study of Kilkenny speech yields examples like *'Tis only coddin' you he do be* 'he (habitually) pulls your leg' and *'Tis lettin' on that one do be* 'she's always pretending' (Moylan 1996:362). Ó hÚrdail (1997:190) quotes *'Tis joking you are* from Beara. Further documentation can be found in the early studies (see, e.g. Hayden and Hartog 1909:934; Joyce 1910/1988:51–2). A study by Cottell (1997) provides a detailed description

of the syntactic environments which allow what she calls 'VP-clefting' in HE. According to her observations and tests, HE speakers consider VP-clefting grammatical in those cases where the subject is semantically Agent; if the subject is Experiencer, VP-clefting is ungrammatical. Thus, (16a) and (16b) are grammatical in HE, whereas (16c) and (16d) are not (Cottell 1997:97):

(16a) It was washing himself John was.

(16b) It was drinking his pint he was.

(16c) *It was admiring himself John was.

(16d) *It was enjoying his pint he was.

The paucity of data in the HE corpus makes it impossible to assess the validity of the constraint observed by Cottell, but it is noteworthy that all the examples cited above conform to this constraint. Cottell further reports that speakers of standard varieties consider (16a) and (16b) 'odd', but (16c) and (16d) 'very much worse' (ibid.). The intuitive tests I carried out on the acceptability of (14) above yielded a consistently negative response to VP-clefting in educated BrE (see Filppula 1986:136–7). Quirk *et al.* (1985:1385–6) consider this type of clefting 'stylistically awkward' but add that it is possible in 'informal Irish English'.

Besides VP-clefting, the syntactic flexibility of HE is manifested by the possibility of focusing on subject complement adjectives in a sentence with the verb *be* as the predicate of the *that*-clause. Again, this pattern seems to be rare in actual speech. Only one token was found, and as can be seen in (17), it is somewhat ambiguous: it can be interpreted either as a cleft with inverted word order or as a sequence of two separate clausal structures with topicalisation in the first one.

(17) There's dole and there is lot of = social benefits all over this country
=
[Yeah.] Wonderful altogether. In fact, *too good* it is, this country is now.
(Kerry: M.C.)

Whichever reading the speaker in (17) had in mind, the usability of clefts with adjective focus in HE vernacular can be ascertained on the basis of other studies. Henry (1957:193) illustrates this pattern by one example: *It's flat it was*. Moylan (1996:363) also gives just one example, which is *'Tis short the time do be passin',* glossed as 'time flies'. Further documentation can be found in Ó hÚrdail (1997:190), who cites *'Tis well you looked* from Roscommon. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1385) again mention 'informal Irish English' as the only variety which allows either subject complement nouns or adjectives in focus position.

A third area which seems to distinguish HE from other varieties of English is clefts with certain types of adverbial foci. Unfortunately, the corpus did not contain any clear occurrences of adverbials of manner in focus position. Several authors have pointed out that they cannot appear in that position in standard varieties (see, e.g. Poldauf 1969; Bolinger 1972, Quirk *et al.* 1972/1976). Henry (1957:193) cites just one example from his Roscommon dialect:

(18) It's badly she'd do it, now.

Other types of adverbial abounded in the corpus, but to what extent they are peculiar to HE cannot be decided on syntactic grounds alone. The intuitions of speakers of educated BrE also appear to vary. The following example from my corpus, with an adverbial of means or instrument in focus, received a generally negative response from my BrE test-group (see Filppula 1986:137–8):

(19) I used to shear with the handshears. […] I do generally pay lads, there's lads go round = with a machine […]
{So that you wouldn't = do it yourself here, you don't have the machines?]
No, err it's *a handshears* I used to shear with. (Wicklow: J.N.)

On the basis of my data, adverbials of place, time, and other circumstance are in HE more commonly clefted than in other varieties of English. This is yet another indication of the flexible use of this device in HE dialects.

There remain two other prominent uses of HE clefts which deserve to be commented on from the syntactic point of view. One has to do with the use of clefting in the kind of existential statement illustrated in (20)–(22):

(20) And they had to go then up to Rockmount, where it is *the school* is there presently, up on a high, bleak, mountain. (Clare: C.O'B.)

(21) Do you know, he said, where we get roof, he said. We'll go down tonight, and we get roof. [..] Below to the back of the school. There was = a lavatory, and it was *a kind of a house built of strong timber* was there one time. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(22) He made the house = narrow = and = he roofed and slated it […] I don't think it was = probably it was thatched, because it was all = it was *all thatched houses* was here one time, you know. (Kerry: M.McG.)

In these, clefting occurs in contexts where StE would use introductory *there* to assert the existence of either a totally new discourse referent, as in (20) and (21), or one which is inferrable from the context, as in (22). The two last examples prompted a unanimously negative response from my BrE test-group

(see Filppula 1986:157). What is curious about these sentences is that they combine in one and the same structure an assertion of the existence of a new referent and a specification of some property for this referent. In Filppula (1986:156) the term 'existential-specificational' was coined for this type of cleft. In (22), the presence of the universal quantifier *all* is a further noteworthy feature (more on this below). It is remarkable that in the literature on HE only Taniguchi has paid attention to this feature of HE clefting. He quotes, among others, the following examples from Anglo-Irish literature which are similar to the existential statements above (Taniguchi 1972:158):

(23) And isn't it only a child is in it? (Byrne; cited in Taniguchi 1972: 158)

(24) But, glory be, it's a power of strength is in them two fine arms of yours. (O'Neill; cited in Taniguchi 1972:158)

As will be seen from the discussion below, existential-specificational clefts have parallels in Irish and also in another Celtic-influenced variety, HebE.

The final point about the syntax of HE clefting concerns the occurrence of certain kinds of quantifiers in the focus position. To my knowledge, this feature has not been documented in previous works. Consider, for example, (25)–(27), which have the plural quantifiers *plenty, many,* and *few* as (part of) their focused elements, respectively (cf. also (22) above with *all* as modifier of the focused element):

(25) [What kind of events were there. Were there = you know, riding horses or?]
Yes. Over the ditches. Oh yes, hmh. It's *plenty o' them* would fall, too. I needn't tell you. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(26) Ah there was nothing done here round, here in the Second War […] It wasn't as *many* run off and listed either = only what was in the army. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(27) [Which was the most common of the two [the tin flute or the timber flute]?]
Oh, the tin flute'd be the most common […] 'Tis *few* had the tim' = had the timber flute. (Clare: C.O'B.)

Again, the intuitive tests with speakers of BrE revealed severe constraints on the focusing of plural existential quantifiers such as the ones in the above examples (see Filppula 1986:161–4). Like the existential-specificational clefts discussed above, this feature of HE can be explained in terms of Irish substratal influence (see below).

Besides its syntactic flexibility, HE clefting displays discoursal features worth mentioning in this connection. Thus, in (28) below, the focused element *the windlass* represents totally new information in the discourse context (cf. also the existential-specificational clefts in (20)–(21) above). As reported in Filppula (1986:121), it is probably the combination of the newness of the focus and its syntactic function as direct object which explains the oddity of clefting in (28) to speakers of BrE at least.

(28) We always worked in the shore, you know, burnin' kelp […] makin' iodine out of it. Well, we = we was one year, my father an' myself an' = an' my sister = we used to = we = it is *the windlass* we had taken with, you know, windlass, with the rope folded up, like. (Clare: J.N.)

The use of clefting to focus on new information is particularly salient in responses to questions. In section 7.2 it was shown how responses to Yes/No questions reflect the essential characteristic of the corresponding Irish sequences, namely, the lack of special words *for yes* and *no*. Another noteworthy feature of HE responses is the rather frequent use of the cleft construction to introduce direct responses (for the notion of direct responses, see section 7.2). Consider, for example, the exchange in (29), involving a Yes/No question and its response, and two more in (30) and (31), in which the question is of the WH-type:[5]

(29) [And were they [fairs] on at cer' = certain, you know, fixed times of the year or?]
Oh, it'd be *the whole one day in every month* = that the fairs would be held in those places. (Wicklow: J.F.)

(30) [And = was that a hundred years ago = or = the cemetery? How long has it been there?]
'Tis *about eleven hundred years* = 'tis. (Kerry: D.B.)

(31) [What's the direction of the wind when you get rain?]
The west = south = it *is from the sea, from the west* =
[Yeah.]
= is the most you get rain from. (Kerry: J.F.)

The use of clefting in responses emphasises the tendency to front new information, as in Irish (see below). It is most in evidence in the rural HE dialects and in the two (south)western varieties, in particular. It is noteworthy that clefting occurs in questions, too. Here are a couple of examples:

(32) Yeah, it is owned by an Englishman now, I think. This year, this year he bought it. Isn't that *lately* he bought that? (Kerry: J.F.)

(33) 'Twas a place that was owned by Mrs Vaughan at the time. = I don't know was it at the time, but she had it after anyway, and 'tis owned now by = *what's* that his name is? (Clare: C.O'B.)

Even a whole clause can be put into the focus of a question, as in (34):

(34) *When they'd be allotting so much land to you* is it how you meant? (Clare: M.F.)

Most of these constructions are modelled on the Irish questions (see the discussion in section 10.2.7).

10.2.5 Clefting in earlier HE

Like many other distinctive features of HE grammar, clefting does not appear to be very frequent in the earliest HE texts. There are only a handful of occurrences in Bliss's (1979) collection and only one which shows special features in its syntax. As can be seen in (35), it involves a past participle complemented by an *-ing* participle *(come bourying)* in the focus position and can thus be considered one type of VP-clefting (cf. the discussion above). In his commentary Bliss (1979:296) ascribes this pattern to the Irish copula construction.

(35) Dear Catolicks, you shee here de cause dat is after bringing you to dis plaace: 'tis *come bourying* you are de corp, de cadaver, of a verie good woman, God knows!, fwom cruel deat hate devoure. (John Dunton, *Report of a Sermon,* 1698; quoted here from Bliss 1979:133)

In texts from the later centuries, clefts become quite frequent, and they also occasionally exhibit some of the syntactic and discoursal features discussed above. Consider, for example, (36) from a nineteenth-century letter with an adverbial in focus, and (37), in which the focus is modified by the universal quantifier *all* in the same way as in (22) above (cf. also the discussion on HebE clefts below):

(36) I herd about Dr. Dillon and family been lying in the feavour so I cannot explain to you how I feel since I herd that. Mrs. MacD. will you pleas wright and let me know if it is *in to the feavour* the [they] are or over it the[re erased] or did the baby get it are [or?] is he all over it I hope in God the are or is it a bad feavour I was not told what kind it was or did Miss Mulhall get it and honour also. (*The Deane Papers,* No. 20, no date (c. 1880–90); Trinity College MS 6,893/20)

(37) A man coming to this Country he is nothing but a real fool for the first year especily Irishmen, for it is *all the English system* they have

for working. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 3, 1855; quoted here from Fitzpatrick 1994:71)

In (38), then, an 'unbound' reflexive pronoun occurs in the focus position, thus assigning additional thematic prominence to the referent of the pronoun. There were other occurrences of the same kind in the letters, which suggests that this was once a regular pattern in HE. Although my HE corpus did not contain any instances, Henry (1957:120) records the same usage for Roscommon dialect and Odlin (1997b) for HebE (see the discussion on HebE clefts below).

(38) P.S. Don't blame me for Robert's not going out lastyear [last year] It was *himself* that would not go and the reason he gave was he would be indread [in dread] I'd have nothing after he going. (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 8, 1854; Trinity College MS 10,435/8)

The same pattern abounds in early nineteenth-century literature, e.g. in Carleton's *Traits and Stories*..., which also contains several occurrences of VP-clefting.[6]

The observed HE predilection for placing new referents in the focus position was also manifest in the nineteenth-century letters. Witness (39), where *the poisoneess bite* functions as an object representing a new discourse referent, and (40), in which the time adverbial *yesterday* has evidently been brought forward to give the time of the event non-contrastive thematic prominence:

(39) I have done a good many things and many good turns (it's not like the old saying self praise is no prais) for other people and it is *the poisoneess bite* you will get at long last from them, like the black Snake. (*The Normile Letters,* No. 9, 1860; quoted here from Fitzpatrick 1994:83–4)

(40) My Dear son give my love and blessing to Robert and wife and family and to Nancy and husband and I will be getting [better?] now when the fine times are coming it is *yesterday* summer began here Aunt Peg and husband and son are well. (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 21, 1863; Trinity College MS 10,435/21)

10.2.6 Comparisons with Irish

As noted on several occasions above, the Irish copula construction provides an obvious source for most, if not all, of the special features of HE clefting. The copula construction occupies a central place among the focusing devices of Irish and is free from the type of syntactic or contextual constraints which characterise its English counterpart. With the notable exception of inflected

verbs, almost all elements of the Irish sentence can be clefted, including the head of a VP. The various possibilities are illustrated by Stenson (1981:99) by the following set of examples (see also Ó Siadhail 1989:236–9):

(41a) Is airgead atá ag teastáil uaim. (
COP money REL-be at lack-VN from-me)
'It's money that I need.'

(41b) Is mise a cheannóidh na deochannaí.
(COP me-EMP REL buy-FUT the-PL drinks)
'It's me that's buying the drinks./I'm buying.'

(41c) Is í mo dheirfiúr a chonaíonns i Sasana.
(COP her my sister REL live-REL in England)
'It's my sister that lives in England.'

(41d) Is ar an mbóthar a bhuailfidh mé leat.
(COP on the road REL meet-FUT I with-you)
?'It's on the road that I'll meet you.'

(41e) Is inné a tháinig siad.
(COP yesterday REL come-PA they)
'It's yesterday that they came.'

(41f) Is abhaile a chuaigh sé.
(COP home REL go-PA he)
?'It's home that he went.'

(41g) Is ag déanamh a chuid ceachtannaí atá Tadhg.
(COP at do-VN his portion lessons REL-be Tim)
*'It's doing his lessons that Tim is.'

(41h) Níl sé tinn; (is) caochta atá sé.
(NEG-be he sick; COP drunk REL-be he)
'He's not sick; he's *drunk*.'

As mentioned above, inflected verbs cannot be clefted but verbal constructions consisting of the copula followed by the verbal noun (VN) can, as in (41g). Adjectives are generally more restricted in the focus position than other elements, and some can only be clefted in questions or exclamatory sentences (Stenson 1981:99). Ó Siadhail (1989:236–7) states that adjectives occur in the focus of contrastive clefts only. On the other hand, he mentions the possibility of fronting an entire adjectival phrase through clefting, as in (42) (Ó Siadhail 1989:237):

(42) Agus chan sásta imeacht as an oileán a bhí sé.
(lit. and not satisfied to depart from the island he was)
'And he was not satisfied to depart from the island.'

A further feature of Irish is the use of clefting to introduce responses to WH-questions. Stenson (1981:107–8) illustrates this with the following question—response sequence (see also Ó Siadhail 1989:237):

(43a) Cé a bhaineanns an féar?
(who REL cut-REL the grass)
'Who cuts the grass?'

(43b) M'uncail a bhaineanns an féar.
(My'uncle REL cut-REL the grass)
'My uncle cuts the grass./It's my uncle that cuts the grass.'

The presence of the relative particle *a* in the question in (43a) reveals that a cleft-like structure is also used in the Irish equivalent of WH-questions ('constituent questions'). In fact, as Stenson (1981:107–8) remarks, it is not altogether clear whether (43a) is an instance of clefting because of the systematic absence of the copula from the Irish constituent questions but, apart from that, the parallelism between cleft sentences and questions is complete and they display the same 'opposition of focus and presupposition'. The similarity is further emphasised by the fact that the copula may be deleted from any cleft sentence (Stenson 1981: 108). McCloskey (1979:51–5) draws a somewhat more general comparison between constituent questions and relative-clause structures, which include the copula construction. He also refers to the traditional view of Irish grammarians which likewise considers constituent questions to be relative clauses appended to interrogative pronouns or phrases (McCloskey 1979:51).

Irish parallels also exist for the kind of existential-specificational clefts illustrated in (20)–(22) above, and for the clefts involving either universal or other quantifiers in their focus, as in (22) and (25)–(27). Thus, the Irish renderings of (22) and (25) would be as follows:[7]

(44) Is tithe ceann tuí ar fad/uilig/go léir a bhí…
'It-is thatched houses altogether/all that was…'

(45) Is iomai ceann acu a thitfeadh freisin.
'It's plenty of them would fall, too.'

10.2.7 Conclusion

In the light of the facts about Irish the case for substratum influence on HE usage is very strong, and its likelihood is further enhanced by the history of

the copula construction in Irish. As Ahlqvist points out, clefting has been attested in Irish earlier than in any other Western European language. He also discusses the possibility that the cleft construction in the Western European languages is ultimately of Celtic origin (Ahlqvist 1977:273). This may be hard to demonstrate but at least in English the cleft construction is fairly recent: according to Strang (1970:211), it was not until the fifteenth century that the 'empty' use of *it* and *there* in subject position approached the status of a regular pattern (see also Görlach 1978:102; Kohonen 1978:46). Görlach (1991:108) writes that, although clefting was part of EModE grammar, it was used 'more rarely'. In a similar vein, Traugott (1972:161) underlines the role of simple word order shifts without clefting as the most readily used devices for conveying emphasis in the earlier stages of English up till, and even including, the EModE period when the word order system eventually began to stabilise around the present-day patterns. The connection between rigid word order and clefting had in earlier research been noted by Jespersen (1937:86), according to whom the cleft construction arose as one of the means of compensating for the limitations posed by a relatively fixed word order.

The nature of substratal influence must in this case be considered both direct and indirect. It is of the former kind in cases like VP-clefting or 'existential-specificational' clefts, for which no parallels are attested in other varieties of English, or they are felt to be markedly odd in these. For most of the other uses the influence remains indirect, reinforcing as it does patterns which had existed in English, although they were most probably rather uncommon in the spoken varieties brought to Ireland. Besides the pattern of regional differentiation among HE dialects discussed above, the substratum account is supported by evidence from the other Celtic-influenced varieties of English. Shuken (1984: 155), in her description of Highland and Island English, mentions clefting as one of the grammatical features which reflect Gaelic influence. My HebE database also contained several occurrences of clefts which were either structurally or functionally similar to the HE ones. Consider, for example, (46) with an unbound reflexive pronoun in focus; then (47), which corresponds to the HE existential-specificational clefts and also has the universal quantifier *all* modifying the focus element; and (48), which illustrates the use of clefting to highlight the new information in responses:

(46) […] I used to say to him, 'You be careful about that money you've got, I'm sure it's *myself* that will get it after you.' (SA 1970/94/A/Tiree: D.S.)

(47) There was a dun, I don't know what you […]
[A fort?]
[…] a fort and it was *all women* that was on it.
[What was it called?]
The Fort of the Maidens. It was *all maidens* that was on that fort.
(SA 1969/157/A/Tiree: D.S.)

(48) […] Oh what was the name of Tearlach Chreige now? I believe it was *Archibald* his grandfather was called. Archibald. (SA 1970/93/B/Tiree: D.S.)

Truncated clefts also occurred which is a telling sign of the continuing influence of the Gaelic model (see also Odlin 1997b:38, who pays attention to the same feature):

(49) But I mind up there, down on the west end there, you could cut it like corn. But not now. No. *The cattle* that's eating it. (SA 1970/97/A/Tiree: H.K.)

Though not in evidence in my HebE database, VP-clefting is a feature of this variety as well, as is shown by (50), cited by Odlin (1997b:40):

(50) And this day I happened to be doing something, I think it was painting I was. (SA 1968/248/B2; cited in Odlin 1997b:40)

Besides HebE, clefting is a common device for emphasis in Manx English (MxE), where it is ascribed to influence from Manx Gaelic (see Broderick 1997: 133). In Welsh English, by comparison, the position of clefting is not so straightforward: as Professor Alan Thomas (personal communication) points out, clefting is not a 'marked' feature of WE, and fronting (topicalisation) is there preferred to clefting for reasons discussed in the next section.

10.3 Topicalisation

10.3.1 Criteria for topicalisation

As in the case of clefting, criteria for delimitation need to be defined carefully, as not all of the elements placed in clause-initial position can be considered to be topicalisations. I will here follow the approach adopted in Filppula (1986), which provides a detailed study of HE topicalisations. The concept of topicalisation refers, first, to those cases in which a clause element can be considered to have been fronted from its 'neutral' position within the VP to a 'marked' position at the very beginning of its clause. A second essential characteristic of topicalisation is that the syntactic relations within the clause remain unchanged: for example, a topicalised object continues to function as the object of its clause, etc. Third, the topicalised element must realise the main information focus of its clause, i.e. the main sentence stress must fall on the topicalised element. This helps to distinguish topicalisation from, e.g. those instances of inversion in which the focus falls on the item following the verb, most often the subject, or from those frontings which serve a connective function rather than signal marked focus. Fourth, such idiomatic turns of expression as do not allow an alternative

order of elements are excluded from consideration, e.g. phrases like *there you are* and *there's a good idea*. Finally, identifying expressions such as *John is the leader* or *The leader is John* are not treated as topicalisations in this study, regardless of whether the main information focus falls on the clause-initial constituent (for discussion of the special features of HE identifying constructions, see Filppula 1986: Ch. 6).

Below are some examples of HE topicalisations. In (51), the topicalised element is an object, in (52) a subject complement, in (53) an object complement, in (54) an adverbial (of place), and in (55) part of the predicate verb. As in the case of clefting, the focused phrase is italicised to show the location of the main information focus.

(51) [Do you = farm much land yourself, Mikey?]
Err = *forty acres* I have, odd. (Clare: M.V.)

(52) In' = indeed, I walked it myself when I young […] all the way from here to Cahirciveen with = cattle and with sheep. = Oh, *about a distance of twenty and three or four miles* it were. (Kerry: M.McG.)

(53) [A bus to Glendalough] going in on the morning, and come home at night. *St. Kevin's bus* they call it. (Wicklow: C.C.)

(54) One son. He is workin' over there. *In some building* he is workin' with the couple of weeks. (Kerry: J.F.)

(55) And then come home. = *Danced* all night we did. (Wicklow: T.F.)

In the following I will first examine the functions topicalisations served in the HE corpus and then their frequencies of use in HE dialects and other varieties.

10.3.2 Functions of topicalisation in HE dialects

From the discourse-functional point of view, topicalisation shares some essential features with clefting: both involve marked focus at sentence- or clause-initial position (recall the stressless nature of the introductory *it* in clefting); in both the focused element carries the same type of presupposition, and both convey very similar implicatures. Thus, in (51) above, the informant's reply *Forty acres I have* can be said to presuppose, on the basis of the contextual assumption implicit in the question, something like *M.V. has/farms some amount of land*. The indefinite variable contained in the presupposition *(some amount of land)* is then replaced by the value supplied by the informant *(forty acres)*. As regards the implicature(s) possibly associated with the response, the context makes it

evident that the response is of a very neutral type, and merely specifies the value for the indefinite variable, without implicating contrast with any other possible value. In Filppula (1986), I labelled this function of topicalisation as 'specificational', which corresponds to a similar function of clefting.

Besides specification, HE topicalisation shares other functions with clefting. Thus, contrast can be expressed by means of topicalised order, as in (56):

(56) [But a good dowry now would make up for the lacking looks, would it?]
With some people it would. (Clare: J.N.)

The contrastiveness of the response can here be ascertained by using a 'negation test' similar to the one applied to contrastive clefts:…*with some people, but not with others*…. A third function of topicalisation is in evidence in (57), where topicalisation is used to confirm or echo a point made by the interviewer:

(57) They'll [sheep-dogs] know what you sayin'. The same as a human being, they get to know it.
[Yeah, gradually.]
Gradually they'll get to know, if you are every day with them.
(Wicklow: J.F.)

'Confirmatory' topicalisation, as it was termed in Filppula (1986:188–9), closely resembles a fourth function, which could be called 'reassertive' topicalisation, as in (58). Here topicalisation marks repetition of a piece of information by the speaker (see also Filppula 1986:189):

(58) You take it [wood out of the bog] off in splinters. […] It'll come off in = in = in splints. […] You see now: even though you cut it short, it is no good. *In splints* it would come off. (Kerry: D.B.)

One more functional type can be distinguished on the basis of the data, namely 'emphatic' topicalisation. Like the reassertive type, it is 'speaker-orientated' in the sense that its use is conditioned not so much by the discourse structure but by the speaker's subjective desire to assign particular salience to some element of his/her utterance. Emphatic topicalisation is accompanied by extra strong stress on the element to be highlighted (here marked by both italics and boldface):

(59) And now = prob'ly in the middle of the night = a couple of cuckoos would come to the trees there. […] Right over. Aye, ***in the middle of the night*** they'd probably arrive, and they stop there for two or three hours. (Wicklow: D.M.)

10.3.3 Frequencies of use in HE dialects and comparisons w ith other dialects

The frequencies of topicalisations are presented in Table 10.2.[8] Topicalisation turned out to be less commonly used than clefting in all HE dialects, and particularly in the two (south)western varieties. This is not surprising in view of the close parallelism between the Irish copula construction and clefting. The average frequencies per 10,000 words reveal a slight gap between all the rural dialects, on one hand, and Dublin speech, on the other, although the differences are not great and can hardly be considered statistically significant (see Filppula 1986:192). However, in this work a significant difference was confirmed to exist between the HE corpus as a whole and a corpus of educated BrE. The average frequency of topicalisations in the latter was only 4 tokens per 10,000 words (see Filppula 1986:190–1).

As usual, it is interesting to compare the frequencies of use with those for regional BrE dialects. The two corpora from the southwestern and Yorkshire dialects yielded average frequencies of 10.0 and 5.5 tokens per 10,000 words, respectively. There were occurrences in the SED data from the (north-)west Midland and northern dialects as well, but in the absence of transcripts for these recordings there was no way of measuring their frequencies. Unfortunately, there are no studies which would furnish comparable information about these or other regional dialects, but the evidence available so far suggests that topicalisation is slightly more common in HE than in conservative BrE dialects (for discussion of other varieties, including HebE and WE, see below). For the literary dialect, the HE predilection for topicalisation is also confirmed by Taniguchi, who notes a correlation between the frequencies of clefting and what he calls 'inverted word order', i.e. topicalisation in my terminology (see Taniguchi 1972:166–78). Taniguchi observes a certain amount of individual variation between Anglo-Irish writers in their use of this device, and the same is true of my HE corpus.

10.3.4 Rival explanations: substratum, superstratum, and universals

The question of the origins of HE topicalisation is particularly intriguing: to begin with, not only does it involve the usual discrimination between substratal

Table 10.2 Frequencies of topicalisation in the HE corpus

Area (size of corpus, words)	N	N/*10,000 words*
Clare (30,000)	33	11.0
Kerry (44,000)	70	15.9
Wicklow (42,000)	59	14.0
Dublin (42,000)	36	8.6
HE total (158,000)	198	12.5

versus superstratal origins but in this case—perhaps to a greater extent than with most of the other features—we also have to reckon with the possible role of certain types of universals. Another difficulty stems from the structural simplicity of topicalised word order, which makes it hard to establish qualitative differences between varieties. However, there are some (combinations of) syntactic and functional features which appear to be peculiar to the (south)western HE dialects (see the discussion below).

Earlier English provides the best starting point for our inquiry. As is well known, the word order systems of English have undergone some major changes in the course of centuries, the most striking of them being the gradual stabilisation of the basic word order around the now almost canonical SVO order. What interests us here most is the timing of these changes and the kinds of topicalisation used especially from EModE onwards. According to Traugott (1972:160–1), the present-day patterns became in the main established during the ME period, but for reasons of special emphasis word order shifts were still commonly used in the EModE period. In a similar vein, Görlach (1991:107) writes that SVO had established itself as the normal order in affirmative statements by 1500, but variations occurred in certain types of contexts and text-types. These variations have been most thoroughly investigated by Jacobsson (1951), who is chiefly concerned with the inversion of subject and predicate verb in general, regardless of the placement of the main information focus. His data are drawn from a corpus of English texts written between 1370 and 1722, i.e. from late ME up till the end of the EModE period. What makes Jacobsson's study useful for our purposes is that, besides discussing the inversion of subject and predicate verb, he comments on and exemplifies the occurrence of non-inverted word order patterns involving fronting of objects, subject complements ('predicative complements' in Jacobsson's terminology), certain types of adverbials, infinitives and participles. Most of these (as well as a large part of the patterns with inversion) fall under the heading of topicalisation, as defined in this study.

It emerges from Jacobsson's results that front-position of objects—either with or without inversion of subject and predicate verb—is not uncommon in EModE texts, especially in contexts in which the initial placement serves a connective or an emphatic (contrastive) function, as in the following examples cited by Jacobsson (1951:134–5) from Digby (representing the period 1600–1650) and Dryden (from the period 1650–1700):

(60) …I busied them in rolling of stones downe to the sea side, which they did with such eagernesse as thought it had bin the earnestest businesse that they came out for, and they mastered prodigious massie weightes; but *one stone,* the greatest and fairest of all, containing 4 statues, they gaue over after they had bin, 300 men, a whole day about it.

(61) Being out of Town, I have forgotten the Ship's name… But *the Master's name* I remember: He is calld Mr Ralph Thorp.

As will be remembered, fronting with connective function is not considered relevant to this study, as the main information focus in that case falls on some other than the fronted constituent. The same applies to another type of fronting which Jacobsson describes as 'euphonic'. In this case, as Jacobsson (1951:135) puts it, '[t]he front-shifted object […] is usually counterbalanced by one or more post-verbal modifiers'. In other words, the fronted element does not receive the main information focus here either, as can be seen from (62), another example from Dryden cited by Jacobsson (ibid.):

(62) *The two Melons you sent* I receivd before your letter, which came foure houres after.

On the other hand, Jacobsson's database contains some occurrences of fronted objects which closely resemble the 'specificational' topicalisations common in HE dialects. According to Jacobsson, fronting in these cases 'expresses the idea which is uppermost in the speaker's mind ("actuality")' (ibid.). This type is exemplified, among others, by (63), cited by Jacobsson (ibid.) from Harley, who represents the period 1600–1650:

(63) I thanke God, I tooke no hurt in gooing to chruch [church?]; *a littell coold* I haue, but I hope it will weare away.

Besides objects, earlier English also allows front-placing of subject complements fairly freely. The discoursal reasons for this, as Jacobsson (1951:153) states, are mostly the same as in the case of objects: connection, emphasis, or a combination of both. Whether the front-placed subject complement is then followed by inverted or non-inverted word order is largely determined by the 'rhythmical balance' of the sentence; non-inversion generally occurs when 'the copula is capable of balancing or outweighing the subject' (Jacobsson 1951: 139). Non-inversion is, it should be remembered, the predominant pattern in HE topicalisations of this type, and the same appears to be true of earlier English, except in contexts involving nominal subjects (Jacobsson 1951:140–6). Jacobsson's examples of non-inverted order from earlier English include the following citations from Raleigh and Earle, both representing the period 1600– 1650 (Jacobsson 1951:145, 146):

(64) *Most sorrie* I am (God knowes) that being thus surprised with death, I can Leave you in noe better estate.

(65) *A great admirer* he is of the rust of old Monuments, and reades onely those Characters, where time hath eaten out the letters.

Other major types of fronting discussed by Jacobsson include those of object complements ('complement of an object' in his terminology), infinitives, and participles. These are exemplified, respectively, by (66) from Lyly (representing the period 1550–1600), (67) from Raleigh (the period 1600–1650), and (68) from Swift (the period 1700–1722) (Jacobsson 1951:146, 164):

(66) Ah Cassander, *friend* I can-not terme thee, seeing thee so vnkinde: and *father* I will not call thee, whome I finde so vnnaturall.

(67) …yet my debt to you, is not the lesse, but *pay itt* I never shall, in this world.

(68) I have got a cold, and I don't know how; but *got it* I have, and am hoarse.

The evidence discussed above shows that, although a large portion of the instances of fronting in earlier English were connective or 'euphonic' in function, fronting was also used for purposes which are parallel to those found to be common in HE dialects: contrast, specification, and emphasis. The HE tendency could therefore at least partially be explained in terms of diffusion from earlier stages of English. In the previous section I discussed quantitative data from regional BrE dialects which suggest that topicalisation continues to be used in conservative dialects in the present day, although its frequencies of use are not as high as in HE. An examination of the syntactic aspects of topicalisation in the BrE dialect material reveals that fronting of objects and adverbials occurs now and again, as in (69)–(71) drawn from the SED tapes representing the (north)west Midland dialects. While some of these are contrastive like the one in (69), specificational topicalisation with a discoursally new item in focus also occurs, as in (70), and arguably, in (71):

(69) [And do you go up in front of the cows?] Well, *some* we go to, and *some* we can feed it from = before 'em like. (SED/Shropshire 4/10B: Diddlebury/Montford)

(70) Well, *hedging* I used to love to do. (SED/Shropshire 9: Clun)

(71) The club, it used to be = on err Whit = *on Whit Tuesday* I believe it used to be. (SED/Staffordshire 9: Edingale)

Yet the bulk of the instances consists of certain kinds of idiomatic expressions which typically involve a topicalised object or subject complement. These are exemplified by (72) and (73) from the same SED databases, including also the northern dialect of Lancashire. Similar instances were found in the southwestern and Yorkshire corpora.

(72) *The bed* we call it or the reed [..] (SED/Cheshire 4: Farndon)

(73) We always called him Billy {1 word unclear}. *Pennington* his name was. (SED/Lancashire 18: Orrell)

Against this background it does not seem easy to build a convincing case for the Irish substratum influence—at least one based on contact-influence as the sole source of the HE feature. There are three major factors which suggest a certain role for Irish: the higher frequencies of use in HE dialects as compared with BrE; the existence of Irish parallels; and finally, the existence of parallels in other contact-influenced varieties, including also varieties other than the 'Celtic Englishes'. Since the first-mentioned dimension was already discussed in the previous section, I will here concentrate on the latter two.

Topicalisation (often referred to as 'inversion' in the Irish grammatical tradition) occurs in Irish in two principal contexts: in copula constructions (i.e. clefts) with inversion and in other copular clauses such as those of classification and, arguably, identification. These are discussed by, e.g. Stenson (1981:116–7) under the heading of 'emphasis by inversion'. Her examples include the triplet in (74), representing three grades of emphasis made possible by the copula construction and its inverted version involving the old neuter pronoun *ea* 'it'. The latter structure is said to express 'extra emphasis' as against the former (here (74b)), which in turn constitutes an emphatic variant of the 'straight' sentence in (74a) (Stenson 1981:117):

(74a) Tiocfaidh Dónall amárach.
(come-FUT Donal tomorrow)
'Donal will come tomorrow.'

(74b) Is amárach a thiocfaidh Dónall.
'It's tomorrow that Donal will come.'

(74c) Amárach is ea a thiocfaidh Dónall.
'It's *tomorrow* that Donal will come.'

Emphasis can be achieved with similar inversion in classification sentences. As Stenson (1981:116) points out, they display only two grades of emphasis, as their basic form already has the copula. Stenson's (1981:116) examples are:

(75a) Is pub maith é.
(COP pub good it)
'It's a good pub.'

(75b) Pub maith is ea é.
(pub good COP it it)
'It's a *good pub*.'

According to Stenson, identification sentences have no cleft or inverted variants at all (1981:117). However, Ó Siadhail (1989:233) notes an Irish parallel for the type of identification structure exemplified for dialectal English in (73) above:[9]

(76) Domhnall Ó Cinnéide is ainm do.
'D.Ó.C. is his name'.

The focus-first pattern is fairly frequent in HE identification clauses, and it also occurs in HebE, as is shown by (77) from my Tiree database:

(77) We're talking about an old man that was living not very far from here, *MacDonald* was his name. (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

HebE is rich in other types of topicalisation, too. The selection of examples in (78)–(81) underlines the similarities between HE and HebE in the contexts of use of topicalisation. Note, especially, the discoursal newness of the topicalised element in (78) and (79), for example. The last two also represent syntactically interesting frontings: (80) has an inverted pseudo-cleft pattern, while (81) involves a subject complement adjective in a subordinate clause. Both go to show the importance of the clause-initial position, which may, as in these examples, override the usual syntactic constraints on topicalisation.

(78) They were anchoring at Scarinish Harbour, outside Scarinish Harbour. And when the pier was finished that was a thing of the past. *Four years exactly* it took to build the pier. (SA 1970/109/B/Tiree: D.S.)

(79) And my grandfather, my great-grandfather up there, where that house up there is, *very seldom* he was paying the rent. (SA 1970/95/A/ Tiree: D.S.)

(80) [Then there was a crofter called Alexander Brown?] Yes, just, *Alexander Brown's house* was where you're sitting. (SA 1970/ 93/A/Tiree: D.S.)

(81) […] I wonder what they were thinking and what they were watching? I heard that shore, *Traigh Bheidhe* over there in Balephuil, in that area, making a lot of noise I knew *fine* this weather was going to be. (SA 1970/103/B/Tiree: H.K.)

The frequencies of topicalisations in my HebE database cannot be measured as exactly as in the HE corpus, but a rough estimate yields an average of just over 10 instances per 10,000 words of text, which is slightly less than in the

rural HE dialects but higher than in Dublin. Taking the qualitative features of HebE topicalisations into consideration, it is safe to conclude that the evidence from HebE lends further support to the substratum hypothesis.

WE also provides an interesting point of comparison here. As explained by Thomas (1994:137), fronting is one of the principal means of expressing prominence in WE dialects, and it is clearly preferred to clefting or pseudo-clefting in this function. The WE predilection for fronting had already been observed in the context of the SAWD by Parry, who writes:

> As in Welsh, a noun or phrase may be given special emphasis by placing it at the beginning of the sentence, as in the following: *Out (= 'outside') we're keeping it* D/Cdg 2; *"Axle" they were calling it* D/Cth 1; *A weed it is* D/Cth 3; *Well, once I've tried smoking, and tabs (= inferior cigarettes) they were, "The gargat" I'm calling it* both at D/Cth 5; *Coal they're getting out mostly* D/Cth 6; *With me was a grindstone* (= 'I had a grindstone'), *A horse, 't was,* both at D/Cth 7.
>
> (Parry 1979:155)

Why WE does not make any particular use of clefting has not been explicitly discussed in the literature on WE grammar, but a plausible explanation can be found in the structure of the Welsh cleft constructions, which regularly leave out the copula. As was noted above, the same happens in colloquial Irish but in Welsh this phenomenon reached the status of a fully grammaticalised pattern at a very early stage. Thus, Watkins (1993:336) writes that '[t]he copula, which originally preceded the preposed constituent, disappeared in the Old Welsh period, leaving relativization of the verb as the only indicator of clefting'. In other words, the resulting structure is essentially the same as simple fronting, which in Welsh is restricted to certain types of copular clauses (see, e.g. Awbery 1984:262–3 and Watkins 1993:340 for further discussion). The similarity is further emphasised by the phonetic weakness of the relative particle. Thomas (1994:137), writing on the WE tendency to use fronting, concludes that it probably reflects the influence of the Welsh system of clefting, which 'universally involves fronting of a constituent' and has therefore no equivalent of the English pseudo-cleft construction.

The evidence from HebE and WE clearly enhances the likelihood of substratal influence not only on these two varieties but on HE as well. This influence is, however, of the indirect, reinforcing, type, since similar topicalisations are found in other dialects, though to a somewhat less extent. The possibility of multiple causation is further supported by the fact that topicalisation may involve some universal aspects. These are discussed in some detail in Filppula (1990). In this connection it should suffice to note that fronting of clause-elements is widely used among the languages of the world as a means of achieving thematic prominence, and this is also reflected in various kinds of universalist approaches to the theory of grammar. Thus, in the theory of functional

grammar advocated by Dik, the initial position, labelled as 'P1' in Dik's terminology, is characterised as 'universally relevant as a position used for special purposes' (Dik 1980:20).

Fronting as a marker of prominence has also been found to be characteristic of the Atlantic creoles (see, e.g. Holm 1988:212), and it is, indeed, one of the twelve items which Bickerton (1981:51–6) includes in his list of typical creole features and considers to form part of what he describes as a 'genetically transmitted bioprogram for language acquisition'. Without going any further into the nature of the 'bioprogram' and possible counterarguments to that hypothesis (for some discussion, see Filppula 1990; Sebba 1997), it should be noted that the Atlantic creole tendency to use fronting has a parallel in at least some of the West African substratum languages. Holm (1988:212) states that '[s]uch topicalization is also usual in relevant African languages such as Yoruba'. Incidentally, the same holds for cleft constructions, which are also known to be typical of the Atlantic creoles, including even the type of 'VP-clefting' discussed in the previous section. As Sebba (1997:187–8) points out, similar constructions occur in Yoruba and Temne, for instance, which complicates the issue of their origins in the Atlantic creoles. Universalist accounts of whichever type encounter the same problem as regards HE, HebE and WE: topicalisation has such a robust presence in the relevant substratum languages (and is also a feature of the superstratum) that recourse to universals is not necessary.

10.3.5 Conclusion

HE topicalisation presents a particularly complex phenomenon, which can be accounted for either in substratal, superstratal, or, somewhat arguably, universal terms. As has become evident, none of these can be ruled out on the basis of the available evidence. The flexibility of the word order patterns in earlier English, preserved to some extent in present-day conservative BrE dialects, is a factor speaking for dialect diffusion as the source of this feature of HE. On the other hand, the more frequent uses of topicalisation in HE, HebE, and WE as compared with BrE suggest a prominent reinforcing role for the Celtic substratum, which may also explain some of the discoursal aspects of topicalisation in the said varieties. Universal considerations cannot be totally excluded either because of the popularity of topicalisation as a marker of prominence in other contact vernaculars and across the world's languages. Since the present evidence does not suffice to discriminate between the contributions of each of these sources, multiple causation remains the safest conclusion.

11

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

11.1 Regional variation in the Irish dialects of English

In this section, I will summarise and discuss the main findings of the corpus study of the four HE dialects. Principal problems addressed include the controversial notion of the uniformity of (southern) HE dialects, the extent of dialect levelling, the probable direction of development, and variation between dialectal and standard or other forms.

The view which holds southern HE to be relatively uniform (see, e.g. Hogan 1927/1970; Bliss 1977a; Adams 1977; Barry 1982) receives some support from my findings: most of the features investigated occur (to varying degrees, though) in all rural varieties examined here and even in Dublin speech, although they are not so common there as in the rural varieties, and especially in the two (south)western varieties. Perhaps the most obvious exception to this general rule was the higher rate of occurrence of the *after* perfect in the Dublin subcorpus than in those from the rural varieties (see section 6.2.2). The relatively high frequencies of some of the Irish-derived features (such as some aspects of article usage, the *after* perfect, subordinating *and,* embedded inversion) in Wicklow speech is another noteworthy result, bearing in mind the early withdrawal of Irish from that area. One plausible explanation for the observed uniformity may well be, as is argued in Bliss (1977a:19), the naturalistic mode of transmission of English in the period of the most intense language shift, which led to cumulative and continuing influence of the grammatical systems of Irish on HE (see the discussion in section 3.4). Comparisons between HE, both rural and urban, on the one hand, and BrE dialects, on the other, revealed clear qualitative and quantitative differences which lend further support to this view. One should also remember the strikingly similar qualitative evidence from other HE dialects than those investigated here: these included, among others, North Roscommon (Henry 1957; see also Henry 1958 on other dialects), Kilkenny (Moylan 1996), Ballyvourney (Lunny 1981), Cork and other southern dialects (Ó hÚrdail 1997), and the northern dialects (Harris 1984b; Henry 1995; Corrigan 1997b).

There is another factor at work here which also helps to explain the relative uniformity of present-day HE vernacular and fairly persistent use of most of

the distinctive features even in the urban speech of Dublin: large-scale migration from the countryside to the Dublin area and other urban centres during the greater part of this century. Describing the patterns of population movement in the Ireland of the 1920s to the 1940s, Foster (1988:539) pays attention to 'a pronounced rural—urban drift'; a similar process of depopulation of rural Ireland then continued in the first decade or so after the war (Foster 1988:578). According to the geographer Arnold Horner, the population of Dublin has more than doubled during the twentieth century, and the city's population, which in 1926 represented less than 15 per cent of the state population, accounted for almost 30 per cent in 1986 (Horner 1992:327). As explained in section 4.2.2, a similar expansion of the population especially in the North Inner City had already taken place in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The influx of people from all parts of the country into Dublin made it what Horner (1992:348) describes as a 'melting pot for jackeens [Dubliners] and culchies [country people]'. From a linguistic perspective, the outcome must have been dialect mixture and diffusion of rural dialect features into Dublin speech and vice versa.

The quantitative and qualitative evidence produced by this study suggests a definite direction of development: a process of dialect levelling and eventual fading away of at least some of the most marked or stigmatised features. Hickey (1998) uses the term 'supraregionalisation' for this type of language change, defined by him as a 'process whereby varieties of a language lose specifically local features and become less regionally bound'. The examination of the average frequencies above has helped to shed light on the status of each feature in the grammatical system and also on its probable future (always bearing in mind the limitations imposed by the nature of the data). Among the features which on the basis of the corpus study appear to be rare in present-day HE vernacular and evidently on the decline are, e.g. failure of negative attraction, medial-object perfects, *after* and *be* perfects (recall, however, the probable effect of register on the former), certain types of *do*-periphrasis (including even the *do be* + V-*ing* construction), omission of *yes* or *no* in responses to Yes/No questions (especially in the eastern dialects), resumptive pronouns, and some patterns of complex structures such as clauses introduced by subordinating *and*. Features which my data showed to hold out best against the standardising pressures include the indefinite-anterior and the extended-now perfects (which on the basis of my own informal observations, too, are quite generally used across both the regional and social spectrum), lack of plural subject-verb concord with noun subjects, inversion in indirect questions, certain types of article and prepositional usage, and clefting as a means of focusing.

Variation between dialectal and standard (or other) forms is another dimension of study which can yield interesting results. Although it is not always easy to establish whether two variants are, indeed, semantically or functionally equivalent, the foregoing study has revealed a certain degree of interchangeability between features such as medial-object perfects versus standard *have* perfects, *be* versus

have perfects, presence versus absence of verbal *-s* with plural subjects, use versus non-use of *yes* or *no* in responses to Yes/No questions, inversion versus non-inversion in indirect questions, etc. Quantitative comparisons give us some idea of the status of each of these variants in the 'core' versus the 'periphery' of the grammar of HE, and they also provide important evidence of the ongoing 'competition between grammars'. Unfortunately, there is no comparable corpus available from the earlier stages of HE dialects which could be used for a longitudinal study of 'real-time' differences. The collections of early texts and manuscripts, rich sources of evidence as they are, do not form a valid statistical point of comparison for the type of corpora used in this study to represent the present-day usages. However, they can supply us with some cues as to how well-established each of the features was in earlier forms of HE. Thus, unbound reflexive pronouns, absence of plural subject—verb concord, inversion in indirect questions, cleft constructions, and even periphrastic *do (be)* forms abound especially in the nineteenth-century texts, while failure of negative attraction, *after* and medial-object perfects are among the rarer or even lacking features.

The findings discussed in the previous chapters can also be backed to some extent by evidence from age-grading, i.e. 'apparent-time' variation between the speech of different generations. In Filppula (1994a) I examined some selected features, including clefting, certain types of perfects, and subordinating uses of *and* on the basis of data from the so-called Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Dialects (henceforth abbreviated as TRS; for details, see Barry 1981 and Filppula 1994a). This was a survey conducted in the 1970s and early 1980s by various university departments in Ireland, north and south, aimed at covering the whole country much in the same way as the SED had done in England. The data selected for my study consisted of recordings made in various localities in Co. Kerry, comprising interviews with speakers representing three different age groups: children (9–12 years of age), middle-aged (35–55 years), and elderly (64–78 years). The results showed no great differences between the two oldest generations in the use of the three mentioned features, with the main quantitative and qualitative divide obtaining between the speech of adults and children. While this points to a certain trend away from the traditional, Irish-influenced, patterns of speech in the youngest age group, it also indicates the persistence of them in the speech of the adult population. However, the limitations of the TRS data cannot be ignored: it is likely that children's speech is more greatly affected by the interview setting than that of the older generations, which may cause a bias in the results (for further discussion, see Filppula 1994a).

11.2 Substratum, superstratum, and universals in the genesis of Hiberno-English

Thomason and Kaufman set the following methodological prerequisites for demonstrating what they call 'interference through shift', i.e. substratum influence in my terminology:

> [...] we must be able to identify a substratum language or language group (some of) whose speakers shifted to the target language at the relevant time period; we must have information about its structure; and we must have information about the structure of the target language before the shift.
>
> (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:111)

The authors go on to remark that 'substratum enthusiasts' have not always adhered to these criteria, which has then led many historical linguists to suspect the validity of substratum explanations (ibid.). McMahon (1995:220–2) expresses similar misgivings about the value of substratum theories, unless they are based on criteria such as those proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988).

The case of HE can be said to fulfil all of Thomason and Kaufman's criteria, although the dialectal diversity of the Irish language and of the English brought to Ireland from the seventeenth century onwards causes some problems of documentation. Furthermore, there is only scant knowledge about the earliest stages of HE itself. Nonetheless, when compared with many other contact settings, the Irish situation can be documented fairly accurately. Even the lack of knowledge about the nonstandard varieties of EModE can to some extent be compensated for by data from conservative BrE dialects, as has been done in this study. Note also that most of the SED informants were born in the late nineteenth century, some even as early as the 1860s. It should also be borne in mind that, at the grammatical level at least, it is not always necessary to go so far back as EModE, as the evidence discussed in the foregoing chapters points to a later emergence of many of the distinctive features of HE. In this respect, my findings tally with P.L.Henry's view (discussed in section 3.3.3), according to which the formative period of what he terms 'Anglo-Irish' dialects was the nineteenth century. Of the dialects investigated here, the (south)western rural dialects of Clare and Kerry fall most clearly under that heading.

In addition to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) criteria for demonstrating substratum influence, I have throughout this study made use of others such as the ones proposed in Odlin (1992). Odlin's criteria for transferability of features (see section 3.2.1) form useful additional tools for distinguishing between substratal and other sources. In the context of the present study, they have helped to confirm the influence of the Celtic substratum especially on many of the features which are shared by dialects of English spoken in the Celtic lands and in the adjoining areas.

As has been seen, establishing the source(s) of each of the features investigated with any degree of certainty can be extremely complicated. More often than not this is due to the existence of both substratal and superstratal parallels. But contrary to the methodology advocated by, for example, Lass (1990), I have considered it necessary to extend the bounds of the search for the origins beyond mere formal similarities to a wide range of linguistic and

extra-linguistic factors. In most cases this approach makes it possible to draw some conclusions as to the most likely, or principal, source of a given feature. For example, the detailed examination of the history of English perfects undertaken in Chapter 6, together with a close scrutiny of the syntactic and semantic properties of perfects in the relevant varieties (including different dialects of HE and Irish), helped to establish that HE perfects owe much more to the substratal input than has been assumed in some of the recent research. This was also shown to be true of the medial-object and extended-now perfects which had been argued to derive mainly from superstratal sources. Likewise, HE unbound reflexive pronouns were found to exhibit features which mark them off from their putative superstratal parallels. A third example is the subordinating uses of *and,* which have also been claimed to originate in parallel earlier English constructions. Here, as in the case of perfects, the evidence from HebE was particularly valuable, as it confirmed the emergence of similar structures in conditions of contact involving highly similar substratum languages.

On the whole, HE grammar even today shows considerable amounts of substratum influences, which manifest themselves in various ways and to varying degrees in several central areas of grammar. In some cases this influence has been very direct, in others it has been selective and reinforcing. The clearest examples of the former type are constructions such as the *after* perfects, absence of *yes* or *no* from responses to Yes/No questions, structures allowing negative polarity items in subject position (i.e. those which fail to observe the standard rule of negative attraction), subordinating uses of *and,* resumptive pronouns in relative and other clauses, certain types of cleft constructions, and various patterns of definite article and prepositional usage, all of which have direct and fully grammaticalised parallels in Irish.

Among the less clear examples are, for instance, some types of article usage, unbound reflexives, indefinite-anterior, medial-object, and extended-now perfects, the various forms of *do*-periphrasis, plural subject-verb concord, and inversion in indirect questions. Although the case for direct Irish influence is strong, the existence of parallels in earlier or other dialects of English makes it hard to rule out the possibility of dialect diffusion as an additional source. This is particularly true of the HE systems of plural subject—verb concord, which on the one hand reflect the 'northern' system of concord, well in evidence in Ulster dialects, but which on the other hand exhibit traces of the 'southern' British system apart from that of Irish.

Perhaps the best examples of selective and reinforcing influence are the *be* perfect, uses of *only* and *but* as conjunctions in negative contexts and in rhetorical questions, 'standard' types of cleft construction (excluding VP-clefting, in particular), and topicalisation. In these cases, the stuctures themselves were well established, though not necessarily very frequent, in the superstratum before being introduced into HE dialects. What the Irish did was to put them

to more active and sometimes also more versatile service, emulating thus the corresponding Irish usages.

Universals of whichever description have received little attention in this study as compared with the other possible sources. This is partly explained by the non-generative approach of this study, which is not compatible with the UG-type of universals, but equally by the weight of evidence speaking for the substratal—or, in some cases, superstratal—sources. This does not mean that universals of certain types could not have shaped HE grammar. The strongest candidates seem to me to have been universals of SLA. Examples of features which may have been influenced, or reinforced, by this type of universals include resumptive pronouns, inversion in indirect questions, and maybe also topicalisation. There is some evidence from other language contact settings which indicates that these features often occur in 'learner-language'. However, ascertaining their role in the Irish setting is problematic because of the high degree of grammaticalisation of substratal or superstratal parallels. As more 'immediate' sources, these parallels render explanations in terms of SLA universals superfluous or at best relegate them to a secondary role.

Because of the non-generative nature of this study, the possible contribution of the principles and parameters of UG cannot be assessed here. Suffice it to mention that sometimes the principles-and-parameters approach can be said to lend implicit support to the substratum account insofar as it manages to unravel differences in the parameter settings between Irish and English, or between HE and StE. The phenomenon labelled above as 'failure of negative attraction' is one good example: Duffield's (1993, 1995) findings discussed in section 7.4.1 link HE with Irish rather than with StE, which has different 'licensing conditions' for the so-called negative polarity items. The behaviour of unbound reflexives is another example where Irish and HE can be shown to have similar binding properties for certain types of pronouns. A third example would be inversion in indirect ('embedded') questions. As is demonstrated by Alison Henry (1995), the differences between Belfast English and StE can be explained in terms of differing properties of complementisers and movement of the verb to C (which is the position occupied by the complementiser in subordinate clauses). On the other hand, there are cases where Irish and English turn out to assign the same values to a given parameter, despite the apparent structural differences. Thus, Guilfoyle (1986) posits very similar 'underlying' basic word order for Irish and English, which according to her explains why in early HE texts, for example, there are very few instances of basic word order violations. Of course, the generative theory has since undergone numerous modifications which have affected the framework within which the differences between the clausal structures of Irish and English are interpreted. What appears to have remained unchanged, though, is the view that the main difference between these has to do with the position of the subject: in Irish it remains in VP-internal position, whereas in English it raises to the specifier position (see, e.g. McCloskey 1991, 1996).

11.3 Adstratal developments?

As noted on several occasions above, the possibility of adstratal developments arises because of the considerable overlap between the grammatical systems of HE, the Scottish varieties of English (including HebE), and, to a somewhat less extent, the northern dialects of BrE. Manx English is yet another variety which evidently belongs to the same group, although this has yet to be documented in greater detail. All these varieties share a number of grammatical features which are either not found or clearly less frequently used in other dialects. They include

(a) certain uses of the definite article (especially with names of institutions, languages, feasts, illnesses, and before certain quantifiers);
(b) unbound ('absolute') uses of the reflexive pronouns;
(c) frequent use of the expanded form of verbs even with stative verbs;
(d) lack of plural subject-verb concord (with some reservations);
(e) use of resumptive pronouns in relative and other clauses;
(f) subordinating uses of the conjunction *and;*
(g) failure of negative attraction;
(h) inversion in indirect questions;
(i) some aspects of prepositional usage.

WE is a special case in the sense that it shares some but not all of these features: (a) (with some reservations, though), (c), (e), (h), and (i) appear to be part of the grammar of at least some varieties of WE. The use of fronting as a means of focusing is yet another feature which WE shares with HE, MxE, and HebE (with reservations concerning the use of clefting in WE).

Although I have above argued for a primarily substratal origin for most of the features listed above, another possibility would be to interpret these findings in terms of a 'convergence area' or what might also be termed a 'dialect federation'. This would consist mainly of the dialects of English spoken in Ireland, Scotland, the Isle of Man, but extending also into Wales and northern England. An alternative term would be a *Sprachbund,* or perhaps more appropriately, a *Dialektbund,* since we are here dealing with varieties of the same parent language, English, although here, too, contact between separate languages is involved as in typical *Sprachbund* situations.

A similar notion, albeit in implicit terms, is referred to by Macafee (1996), who in her Introduction to *CUD* (xxxiii f.) draws attention to the extensive historical interactions between Irish speakers and those 'whose line of descent is from Scots or English dialect speakers'. Macafee makes it clear that these influences have been far from unidirectional, although for the purposes of *CUD* she is content to note Irish influence 'only where it is indisputable in the view of the editor'. She elaborates on this methodological principle or 'presumption', which, as she adds, was adopted 'against the advice of our Irish consultant' as follows:

> […] if a word, form, sense, compound, or phrase has a prior history in English or Scots then that is the source of the Ulster item. There may nevertheless be support or reinforcement from Irish, which shares a large vocabulary with English/Scots both through their common membership of the Indo-European language family, and through borrowing in both directions. The reinforcement from Irish may have subtly affected which senses, phrases, etc. survived in Ulster use.
>
> (Macafee 1996:xxxiii)

If there was 'borrowing in both directions', as Macafee states, in the context of Ulster, the same kind of process would no doubt have taken place in the southern provinces. Furthermore, the historical connections between Ireland and Scotland have always been strong, including, for example, a long-standing tradition of seasonal migration from various counties of Ireland to the Lowlands of Scotland (see, e.g. Odlin 1997a for discussion).

It should be remembered, however, that lexicon and grammar may respond differently to the kind of contact influences at issue: the former is more susceptible to them than the latter in conditions of prolonged and relatively stable contacts between languages both of which are maintained. As Thomason and Kaufman (1988:113) assert, 'structural borrowing is invariably preceded by lexical borrowing'. On the other hand, establishing the existence of a convergence area requires examination of all levels of language, not just of the grammatical system. This is a task which cannot be undertaken here. Suffice it to mention that lexical similarities exist between the HE, Scottish, and northern BrE varieties (cf. Macafee's statement quoted above; see also Bliss 1979 and Kallen 1994 on the Scottish and northern BrE words attested in HE). Likewise, there are certain phonological similarities between Ulster dialects and Scots, in particular (for more detailed descriptions of these, see, e.g. Kallen 1994; Harris 1997). On the other hand, one should not forget the possible linguistic connections between Ireland and the southwest of England: some aspects of *do*-periphrasis and subject-verb concord (discussed in sections 6.3 and 6.4, respectively) point to two-way influences along the southwestern 'corridor' comprising the southern parts of Wales and the southwestern counties of England. To what extent these shared features suffice to vindicate the adstratum hypothesis awaits further research into the Celtic—English interface. The weight of the evidence presently available is on the side of a common Celtic substratum as far as most of the above-mentioned grammatical features are concerned. Features for which the adstratum hypothesis might provide a plausible additional explanation include some uses of the definite article (e.g. with names of seasons and some ailments), unbound reflexive pronouns, and lack of plural subject—verb concord, all of which have well-established parallels or at least partial parallels in earlier or other dialectal varieties of English.

11.4 Hiberno-English and other contact vernaculars

The extent of the Irish substratum influence on HE brings us back to the question of the relationship between HE and other contact vernaculars, including creoles. As was noted in section 3.1.2, scholarly opinion generally shies away from regarding even the earliest forms of HE as a creole, although certain similarities exist in the sociohistorical circumstances in which HE and creoles have evolved. Furnished with all the evidence discussed in the foregoing chapters, we should now be better placed to assess the essential differences between HE and creoles.

First, what is peculiar to the Irish situation is the presence there of a single substratum language, Irish (with its many different dialects, though). By comparison, creoles typically arise in more complex multilingual settings (see, e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988:149; Thomason 1997:78–80). In Ireland, the confined nature and geographical isolation of the 'linguistic area' have helped to simplify the setting so as to make it in essence a 'two-language contact situation', as opposed to creolisation, which in most cases involves several languages. The linguistic outcomes of the two types of situation are accordingly different in many respects (see the discussion further below).

A second difference concerns the degree of bilingualism of the populations concerned. As Thomason (1997:80–1) notes, pidgins and creoles hardly ever arise in extensively bilingual, or even multilingual, communities. The Irish situation has of course varied a lot depending on time and place, but by the time the process of language shift got well under way, i.e. from around 1800 onwards, bilingualism can be assumed to have been very widespread. The estimates discussed in section 2.2 put the number of bilinguals in about 1800 at one and a half million out of a total population of five million, i.e. at about 30 per cent. By 1851, this figure had already risen to some 95 per cent.

A third difference between creoles and HE is in the amount of input from the superstratum language or its varieties, which, I believe, follows directly from the differences in the sociohistorical circumstances of the contact situation. Alongside the significant input from the Irish substratum, HE preserves a great many phonological, syntactic, and lexical features which were characteristic of the English of the earlier centuries, and some of which have now been lost in other English dialects. The superstratal input to creoles is, broadly speaking, not so much phonological or syntactic but lexical in nature: creole vocabulary is usually based on that of the European (or other) superstratum language, the 'lexifier', but grammar is a mixture of elements drawn from diverse indigenous languages which form the substratum (see, e.g. Sebba 1997:25).

Fourth, if HE were to be likened to creoles, one would expect to find some evidence of HE pidgin, with features usually associated with pidgins. A creole is commonly defined as a more advanced stage of a pidgin which has become the native language of a group of people (see, e.g. Todd 1984:4; Sebba 1997: 15–16).[1] Some of the most typical linguistic features of English-

based pidgins include, e.g. use of mother tongue phonology, serial verbs, negation with *no* only, lack of verb inflections for tense, person or number, lack of copula, use of reduplicated forms, fixed word order, etc. (see, e.g. Todd 1984:4 ff.). Our knowledge of the type of English that the Irish learners spoke in the early days of the language contact and shift is very limited, but the scraps of evidence we have from written sources (see, e.g. Bliss 1979) do not, broadly speaking, support the existence of HE pidgin. It is true that a certain amount of simplification occurred in early HE (e.g. subject dropping or lack of concord between subject and verb), but that is far removed from a full set of typical pidgin features.

The basic picture does not change if we compare the linguistic characteristics of early HE with those of creoles (for discussion of the most typical features of creole grammars see, e.g. Bickerton 1981: Chapter 2; Mühlhäusler 1986:220–8; Romaine 1988:47–70). For example, although HE (like StE, for that matter) shares some types of 'movement rules' with creoles (e.g. topicalisation, as discussed in section 10.3), it does not use the kind of preverbal free morphemes typical of creole tense-aspect marking, nor does it have the same kind of copula system. These differences are largely explained by the already mentioned fact that creole grammars typically draw on more than one substratum language, whereas HE makes use of just one substratum source, Irish. On its part, the evidence from HE confirms that there is a qualitative difference between contact languages which have evolved in conditions of two-language contact involving relatively persistent ethnic communities, on the one hand, and those (like pidgins and creoles) which arise in linguistically heterogeneous settings involving 'new' and relatively unstable ethnic communities, on the other. From this perspective, HE resembles what Thomason (1997:80–2) classifies as 'bilingual mixed languages'. These are varieties created in two-language contact situations involving widespread bilingualism on the part of at least one of the populations concerned; a further characteristic is the easy separability of the linguistic material according to the source language. The most notable difference lies in the nature of transmission: for Thomason, bilingual mixed languages arise through 'shift without normal transmission', whereas HE — somewhat arguably, though—represents a case of normal transmission (see the discussion in section 3.1.2).[2]

Finally, factors causing language shift can be mentioned as yet another difference between creoles and HE. Pidgins and creoles arise in circumstances in which a common medium of communication is an objective necessity dictated by the everyday needs of people speaking separate and mutually unintelligible languages. At the same time the heterogeneous nature of the linguistic and social environment excludes the possibility of promoting any one 'local' language to the status of a lingua franca. This gap is then filled by the language forming on the basis of the indigenous languages and the (usually) European language which happens to be dominant in each particular context. In the Irish setting, by comparison, 'peaceful co-existence' of Irish and English, that is, a bilingual

community or communities, could have been (at least in principle) a workable alternative to language shift. This was, of course, the situation well into the nineteenth century—and still is, though only in some very restricted areas and contexts. Why the Irish chose to follow the path leading to an almost complete language shift within a remarkably short space of time has been much debated in the literature. One thing seems clear, though: the eventual course of development was not only due to external pressures (e.g. from the administration or the system of schooling) upon the indigenous language, but was determined to a great extent by various 'subjective' factors as well (see the discussion in section 2.2.).

Though not a creole, HE can nevertheless be considered a contact vernacular, and as such the closest points of comparison for it must be the other varieties of English spoken in the Celtic lands, nowadays often referred to as 'Celtic Englishes' (see section 3.2.3). The discussion in the foregoing chapters has produced a wealth of evidence indicating close parallelisms especially between the Irish and Scottish dialects of English, and amongst the latter, HebE in particular (see the list of some of the most notable shared features given in the previous section). In many cases these parallelisms are also shared by WE, MxE, and the transatlantic varieties spoken in Newfoundland. Thus, WE has inversion in indirect questions, uses the definite article in expressions denoting institutions and ailments, makes extensive use of the expanded form of verbs (mainly in its northern dialects), and, furthermore, shares some aspects of prepositional usage with the other Celtic-influenced varieties. Bearing in mind the corresponding parallelisms in the relevant Celtic languages, the case for substratum influence must be considered strong. The discussion on medial-object perfects in section 6.2.3 also showed that, in some cases at least, lack of a given feature (such as the medial-object perfect in HebE) could be predicted on the basis of the differences in the substratum languages. This kind of 'negative indirect' evidence must, however, be treated with caution: for example, WE has no equivalent of the HE or HebE *after* perfect, although Welsh has a parallel construction (with a different aspectual meaning, though). Nonetheless, similarities between the 'Celtic Englishes' can be used as evidence in distinguishing between Celtic-origin and 'general vernacular' features, and they give some justification to the term 'Celtic Englishes'. For example, features like inversion in indirect questions or failure of negative attraction are also found in other dialectal or nonstandard varieties, but their prominent status in the grammatical systems of 'Celtic Englishes' is best explained as deriving from the corresponding Celtic features.

11.5 Concluding remarks

The present study has focused on those features of grammar which distinguish HE from the other dialects of English. This approach may to some extent conceal the extent of similarities between HE and other varieties. Needless to say, they

are many, and as the discussion in the previous chapters has shown, HE dialects share even some of their most distinctive features with some variety or another, HebE being the most obvious example. Having said that, I hope to have produced enough evidence to demonstrate that HE grammar has a unique character which, as I have argued here, owes most to the significant imprint of the Irish substratum. This is not to deny the input from earlier and dialectal forms of English, which more often than not mingles with the substratal influences.

Another aspect scarcely touched on in this study is the social status of HE vernacular and people's awareness of its special characteristics. These are topics which could not be properly addressed on the basis of the presently available data. Yet it is clear that in the context of the British Isles, and also more widely, the distinctiveness of HE vernacular has social implications, which can hardly be ignored by anyone, regardless of his/her amount of linguistic training. The Irish themselves are of course very aware (and often wary) of the difference between their speech and that of the British, in particular. One of the most recent manifestations of this was a series of letters published in one of the leading Irish dailies in the summer of 1997, written by readers who had experienced what they described as various forms of harassment and even racism mainly in the Britain of the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, one reader reported a comment passed at her way of speaking by her erstwhile English colleague: 'Imagine a whole country of them with everyone talking like that.'[3] Although the writer probably had the 'Irish accent' in mind as much as (and probably even more than) the grammar used by the Irish, the latter too exhibits features many of which have become popularly known as hallmarks of the Irish dialects of English—and not always without a certain social stigma. Kallen (1997:1) refers to the low prestige associated especially with those varieties which show (or showed in the past) transfer effects from Irish. An early literary testimony to this phenomenon are the two pieces of satirical writing by Jonathan Swift: *A Dialogue in Hybernian Stile* and *Irish Eloquence*. Written in the mid-1730s (but not printed until 1824), these texts ridicule the Hibernicisms in the speech of the Irish planters—a remarkable choice of the target, through which Swift evidently wanted to underline the extent of what he regarded as undesirable mixture of Irish and English (for further discussion of these texts and their background, see Bliss 1977b). The various 'guidebooks' aimed at Irish users of English also testify to the sensitivity of the issues concerning 'correct usage' in the Irish context. One of the best-known of these is Dr. Molloy's *The Irish Difficulty, Shall and Will,* published in 1897 (which, as noted in section 3.1.3, has itself been found to be wanting in 'correctness'). The reverse of the same phenomenon is the old adage comparing HE with the 'pure' language of Shakespeare. Thus, Joyce gives the following account of the linguistic outcome of the contact between the planters and the Irish people:

> When these Elizabethan colonists, who were nearly all English, settled down and made friends with the natives and intermarried

> with them, great numbers of them learned to use the Irish language; while the natives on their part learned English from the newcomers. There was give and take in every place where the two peoples and the two languages mixed. And so the native Irish people learned to speak Elizabethan English—the very language used by Shakespeare; and in a very considerable degree the old Gaelic people and those of English descent retain it to this day.
>
> (Joyce: 1910/1988:6)

As said above, the social and sociological aspects of HE and of the whole linguistic situation in Ireland form an area which awaits further systematic research. The findings of this study give us sufficient grounds to say that the grammar of HE represents a unique combination of elements drawn from the two principal partners in the contact situation, English and Irish. Uniqueness does not, however, exclude the possibility that the outcome of the contact also reflects universal processes which are known to operate in conditions of language contact and shift. Their role clearly requires more penetrating study than has been possible here. Similarly, the distinctiveness of HE *vis-à-vis* other dialects of English would no doubt have been even more obvious, had it been possible to extend the present study to the other domains of language: phonology and lexicon, in particular. Further work on other HE dialects, regional and social, would also be needed to enhance the reliability of the results obtained here. Finally, although every effort was made to benefit from the newest research into the grammar of the other 'Celtic Englishes' as well as that of the regional dialects of BrE, these are both areas in which a lot of work remains to be done. Already it can be said that, in addition to placing the 'case' of HE in the 'global' or 'universal' contact-linguistic perspective, it is vitally important to see it in the context of the regional varieties of English spoken in the British Isles.

APPENDIX 1

A DESCRIPTION OF THE HIBERNO-ENGLISH INFORMANTS

A general description of the informants and the sizes of the corpora from each area are given in section 4.2.1. As mentioned in that connection, none of the informants had any more than National School education. Note also that the ages given here refer to the time of the recording. 'Old family site' should be understood as reaching back at least three generations in the history of the family.

Clare

M.F.Cloonbony, Milltown Malbay. Age 60. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). (Probably) Irish at school; little active knowledge, but grandparents and parents good Irish-speakers. Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by T.Munnelly, January 1979.

F.K.Leeds, Milltown Malbay. Age 61. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). (Probably) Irish at school; little active knowledge. Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by T.Munnelly, July 1978.

J.N.Ballyheragh, Moher. Age 84. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). Good active knowledge of Irish (parents Irish-speakers). Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by P.Dolan (for R.T.É.), 1982.

C.O'B.Kilcorcoran, Milltown Malbay. Age 75. (Retired) farmer. Native of the village (old family site). Some knowledge of Irish (parents good Irish-speakers). Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by T.Munnelly, July 1978.

M.R.Tullaghaboy, Connolly. Age 77. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). Some knowledge of Irish (grandparents good Irish-speakers). Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by T.Munnelly, July 1978.

M.V.Killaspuglonane, Lehinch. Age *c.* 60–70 (not mentioned). Farmer. Native of the village (probably old family site). (Probably) some knowledge of Irish (no mention, but uses occasional Irish words and phrases).

Interviewed by P.Dolan (for R.T.É.), 1983.

Kerry

D.B.Caherdaniel. Age 72. Retired farmer. Born and reared at an old family site just outside Caherdaniel on the Waterville road. Irish at school; now only good understanding, but little active knowledge. Lifelong residence in the area. Well-known story-teller.

Interviewed by M.Filppula, July 1977.

M.C.Glenbeg, Caherdaniel. Age 78. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). Irish at school; good active knowledge still. Parents Irish-speakers. Lifelong residence.

Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

C.D.Coomatlouchane, Caherdaniel. Age 81. Farmer's wife. Native of the village (old family site). Irish at school; fairly good knowledge still. Parents Irish-speakers. Lifelong residence.

Interviewed by M.Filppula, October 1980.

J.F.Coad, Caherdaniel. Age 77. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). Irish at school; fairly good active knowledge still. Parents Irish-speakers. Lifelong residence except for 2 years in Canada and some 10 in England before and during World War II.

Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

M.McG.Staigue, Castlecove (a couple of miles east of Caherdaniel). Age 67. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). Irish at school; little active knowledge, although parents Irish-speakers. Lifelong residence.

Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

Wicklow

C.C.Upper Calary. Age 50. Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). Irish at school, but no active knowledge. Lifelong residence.

Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1977.

J.F.Upper Calary. Age 81 (first recorded in 1977). Farmer. Native of the village (old family site). No knowledge of Irish (not taught in the schools at the time). Lifelong residence.

Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1977 and June 1978.

T.F.Kilpedder. Age 95. Farmer's wife. Born and reared in Boharnabreena, Co. Dublin (71 years in Kilpedder). (Probably) no or little knowledge of Irish.
Interviewed by G.McClafferty (for the Department of Irish Folklore), 1980.

M.K.Toneygarrow, Enniskerry. Age 75. Farmer's wife. Born and reared in Calary (Roundwood). No knowledge of Irish (none at school). Lifelong residence in Wicklow.
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1977.

D.M.Downshill. Age 73. Retired sheep farmer. Native of the village (old family site). No knowledge of Irish (none at school). Lifelong residence except for 'a couple of year' in Dublin working on the tramways.
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

J.N.Killough, Kilmacanogue. Age 77. Sheep farmer. Native of the village (old family site). No knowledge of Irish (none at school). Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

Dublin

L.F.Ringsend, Dublin 4. Age *c.*75. (Retired) fisherman/docker. Born and reared in Ringsend, Dublin (parents, too). Little Irish at school; no active knowledge. Lifelong residence (in the Inner City area).
Interviewed by S.Sisk (for the Urban Folklore Project), February 1980.

W.H.Middle Gardiner Street, Dublin 1. Age 76. Retired clerk, also 'various little jobs'. Born and reared in Dublin. Mother from the countryside (Mullingar), information about father unclear (worked for the British army abroad and left the family early: 'We never heard from him'). Little Irish at school; no active knowledge. Lifelong residence (on the Northside of the City).
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

M.L.Mountjoy Square, Dublin 1. Age 59. (Retired) fruit-dealer at the Corporation fruit market. Born and reared in Dublin (parents, too). Little Irish at school; no active knowledge. Lifelong residence (on the Northside of the City) except for some 6 months' period of work in England during the war. A most central person in the social life of the locality.
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1977.

P.L.Aughrim St., Dublin 7. Age 68. (Retired) security man/casual worker. Born and reared in Dublin (Hardwicke St.). Father from Co. Meath (no information about mother). Probably little Irish (no mention). Lifelong residence except for a short period in England (exact length of stay not mentioned).
Interviewed by E.Ní Dhuibhne (for the Urban Folklore Project), 1975.

H.McC.Cabra, Dublin 7. Age 68. Maintenance worker (an unspecified number of years in the Irish army during the last war). Born and reared in Dublin (parents, too). Little Irish at school; no active knowledge. Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1977.

J.O'B.Middle Gardiner St., Dublin 1. Age 72. (Retired) labourer in the Dublin United Tramway Company (40 years' service). Born and reared in Dublin. Mother from Co. Meath, father probably the same (information about him unclear). No knowledge of Irish (none at school either). Lifelong residence.
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

P.T.Middle Gardiner St., Dublin 1. Age 80. Some 20 years' service first in the British army, then in the Free State army. After that work as a night-porter in a Dublin hotel till retirement. Born in Dublin, reared in an orphanage in the northern part of the City. 'Very little' Irish. Lifelong residence except for 4 years on a mission in India, and short periods during the Civil War.
Interviewed by M.Filppula, June 1978.

APPENDIX 2

SPECIMEN TEXTS

The following excerpts are meant to illustrate the language represented by the corpora from the four Hiberno-English dialects investigated in this study. In the interest of readibility, the contributions of the informant and the interviewer are indicated by initials. See section 4.2.1 for explanation of the transcription symbols.

Clare

Informant	C.O'B. (age 75).
Address	Kilcorcoran, Milltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
Date of recording	July 1978.
Interviewer	T.M.

TM: You said that the fiddle, flute, and concertina were always played around here?
COB: Yeh, they were.
TM: And was there ever any man that made fiddles locally? That made the fiddles?
COB: I didn't ever know any man makin' his livin' out of it, but I knew a man that made his own fiddle.
TM: Uh-huh. What was it like at all?
COB: He could play on it alright, 'twas passable.
TM: Who was he? What was his name?
COB: Paddy Connell.
TM: From where?
COB: From = Well, I don't know where he was born = I think it was over in Lacka[more] = but he was of poor circumstances, he was goin' here and there, like, what we used to call 'herdin', an' he finally married up in Gortbrack, near Rockmount school. His family are there yet. Himself and his wife were buried = his wife was buried a few weeks ago, himself was buried twelve months ago.
TM: What sort of a fiddle was it?

COB: Oh, it was crude deal to look at it, like, and he had no ins' = he wasn't a tradesman at all, only he to be handy.
TM: Yes. Did it look like an ordinary fiddle?
COB: It looked like = it had the shape = but not as well fined out as a fiddle you'd buy.
TM: What did he make it from?
COB: I don't know, sure he = some kind of timber.
TM: Yes, I just asked you that because some people used to make them out of cigar boxes an' all that. The = Were there ever any pipers around here in your day?
COB: There wasn't. I didn't know any pipers till Willie Clancy came in the place. He learned = sure Willie Clancy was born and reared here in the parish. His father before him was a musician, a flute player.
TM: Gilbert.
COB: Gilbert. No, I didn't know any other piper around here, but I often heard of Garret Barry, but I never knew 'im. He was buried a few years before I was born.
TM: Yes. Do you ever remember Johnny Doran comin' around?
COB: I do remember Johnny Doran comin' around.
TM: Will you tell me what you remember about him?
COB: I remember that he used came to the races was the first place. There used be big races in Milltown that time. There was the first place I saw 'im, an' I thought he had the finest music I ever heard, an' even think it still; Johnny Doran.
TM: What impressed you about his music?
COB: About what year?
TM: No. What impressed you about his music?
COB: I thought he had grand time and sweet music. He had grand time anyway.
TM: What sort of a man was he?
COB: He was a middle-sized man, middle-aged that time. He died = he died soon after.
TM: Aye, he died in 1948.
COB: 1948.
TM: Did you know him personally at all, Mr O'B.?
COB: No, I was never talkin' to him at all, but I used to follow him around. I even went up to Lehinch Races = they were small races only = I was expectin' he'd be there, an' he was there. And that's the most thing that brought me up, was to hear him playin'. He was very willin' to play.
TM: Now, he'd be playin' there at the races; would he = would people ever dance while he was playin'?
COB: I saw Joey Wolfe over there = over near Quilty = he was a very noted step-dancer, an' when he heard him playin' he started dancin' over in the street in Milltown, out in the street.
TM: What sort of flutes are played around here?

COB: The timber flute and the tin flute = they used to have.
TM: Was the tin flute or the timber flute more common when you were young?
COB: They were.
TM: No. Which was the most common of the two?
COB: Oh, the tin flute'd be the most common. 'Tis few had the tim' = had the timber flute.
TM: Were there any particularly good players around here when you were young? I heard that Gilbert Clancy was a very fine flute player.
COB: He was. Well there was a lot used be playin'. Paddy Connell that made the fiddle, he used to play on the flute. There was one of the Whalans up there in Ballyvaskin, he was a very nice flute player. I don't remember who else. Oh, there was other younger crowds again; the Mahoneys an' Looneys up here in Freagh an' Ballyvaskin there. Oh, the Curtins down in = in Letterkelly. Hugh Curtin's we used to call it. Hugh Curtin was a noted old musician, he used to play on the fiddle.

Kerry

Informant M.C. (age 78).
Address Glenbeg, Caherdaniel, Co. Kerry.
Date of recording June 1978.
Interviewer M.F.

MF: How about the Irish language here? Was it spoken when you = * you were younger?
MC: Err = every = *. It was all = the Irish language. = Every one of them spoke the Irish language.
MF: And in your childhood as well?
MC: Oh, yes. = Oh, I never = I = I never had my = father and mother = talking to each other in anything at all, = only in Irish. All Irish.
MF: Hmh.
MC: All Irish from morning till night. And so would every other people, too, but I had good Irish myself. I learnt it from =
MF: But was English your first language, = when you were a child?
MC: Well, = I don' know. I went to school, I s'pose, when I was seven years.
MF: Yeah.
MC: I s'pose I'd English galore maybe that time, but-a = I'd Irish, too.
MF: Yeah.
MC: You see. = = Oh yes, but, you know, there was a time came here = in my father's young days. = He was going to school, = and if you spoke = if you were heard to speak one word of Irish in the school, you were slapped by the master.

MF: Yeah.
MC: That's true.
MF: That's = very * strange, isn't it?
MC: That's true*. = If you was = if you were heard to speak a word of Irish = at school, you were slapped.
MF: Yeah.
MC: That was the order given = from the officials to the master, not to allow the children = speak any word of Irish.
MF: Yeah.
MC: You see. = Well, you know = Well, I don' know. What = what country are you from, you say?
MF: Finland.
MC: Oh, Finland.
MF: Yeah.
MC: Well, I don' know about Finland, but I know that = I'm talking about England, you see. = In them old days, that was the time they were keeping down the Irish. They didn't want to get them up at all. = That's why you had so many = organisations rose up and there was great men, there = there was great men ever and will for ever. = And they rose up. They call them the Fenians =
MF: Hmh.
MC: and the Fight Boys, = and they all went out and they tried to do away with the landlords. They rose up in rebellion.
MF: Yeah.
MC: You see, that's what = and then = they were getting too smart in England and won that. = And they went to keep them down. = No Irish.
MF: Do you think that the Irish language will ever = recover here = or = ?
MC: I do think that it won't, because = why = my = way of = looking at it. = You see = well, every person here has a little Irish, but they couldn' = con' = converse = altogether in it, = but = = the people are too well-off now. = They have a lot of money running through their hands now that they hadn't. = And of course, = we are going to a bar, = we'll = buy a pint of stout or two or whatever it is, we'll = 'tis all English.
MF: Hmh.
MC: If you spoke = if you spoke = a word of Irish down there now, if you asked your drinks in Irish, there's nobody there to know what you're saying. = In fact, as a matter of fact, it is a Dutchman there's down there now having that pub.
MF: Yeah.
MC: From Holland.
MF: Really?
MC: It is. = It was the Caseys from Sneem that had it before, but they = err = they sold it to him. He's a Dutchman.

MF: Hmh hmh. = How about the old people here, do they still speak Irish together?
MC: There are no = there are no old people at all there now. I'm about the oldest man myself around now.
MF: Uh-huh.
MC: There's no = they don't = we don't speak it at all. I could speak it. = You see, what would you call this day now, = if you were describing this day? We = we'll say it would be finer, = cold though it ever were.
MF: Err = err =
MC: Well, you'd said = you'll say in Irish = *lá brea*.
MF: *Lá brea*.
MC: *Lá* is 'day' =
MF: Yeah.
MC: and *brea* is 'fine'. = *Lá brea*.

Wicklow

Informant	J.F. (age 81). Mrs F. also takes part in the conversation.
Address	Upper Calary, Co. Wicklow.
Date of recording	June 1978.
Interviewer	M.F.

MF: Is there any hunting anymore in this * area?
JF: Which * err?
MF: Like fox or?
JF: Oh, there's fox all, foxes about all right, too many of them. And err, there does be lads after them, but it's not easy getting them. Not easy. And they do err put down poison for them, to get them. If err, maybe a hen there now, now a hen if she was out, put a bit of poison to bring 'em up where = somewhere where they are.
MF: I see. Well, that's not real * [laughs] hunting at all.
JF: And they will eat it, let them * eat it. Oh, they are terrible for taking young lambs.
MF: Are they?
JF: Oh, terrorists. Be God, they rip you. Rip you coming to the yard for them.
MF: Hmh.
JF: And they would come into the yard for hens.
MF: * Really?
Mrs F: Oh yes, * they would. One came just out to the door there one night, * and {1 word}
JF: I remember having * tea here one evening, and a fox was there in the yard, and here he was just ready to take the dash at the hens. When I let it = shout it = at him, I happened to be = we was just getting our tea.

Mrs F: We heard the hens rushing. You know, the = when they sound the = rushed across the yard. And we went out, err, it was just there. Oh, it was just there.
JF: Oh dear, so they are * terrible.
Mrs F: One year * then he took the half of them on me.
JF: Be [by] God, I remember one day coming in and right behind them old {trucks?} over there, I heard the hens cackling. I went over to see what it was, and here it was a fox, and he with a hen, the good shout of {her?} and torn in bits, and she not dead. That's true.
MF: [laughs]
JF: Oh, they'd come. And for lambs, you might, young lambs, don't you know, they wouldn't take old lambs. I don't say they'd take the old lambs.
MF: Yeah.
JF: One that maybe on, when the ewes is lambing, and one little lamb today, we say, maybe, or tomorrow, even = two days old or three.
MF: Oh, I see, yeah.
JF: Oh God, when you go out, an old lamb wandering, she going wild roaring, looking for a lamb: it gone. What else, only a fox. Oh, do it.
MF: Hmh.
JF: But you hate putting down poison, because you are poisoning dogs.
MF: * I see.
JF: You have to have * be very careful.
MF: The dogs would eat the same poison?
JF: O-oh yes. Oh, plenty losing dogs here. I know a man, well, he doesn't live around here. = And err, I was talking to him last Sunday week, and he was after being away to the {1 word} of one, where it was = it got poisoned. And he was axing [asking] the son, he'd come back where, = how was the = how was the dog. Oh, I see, he's asleep. Don't you know, the vet knocks them out for a time.
Mrs F: {2 to * 3 words}
JF: But he * died. And that was his fault, and he went off then, I heard since that I wasn't talking to him since. And he has bought two pups. And I know he paid twenty-five pound for one of them.
MF: Hmh. Twenty-five * pound.
JF: Good, * twenty-five pound for a little pup. It was a sheepdog. Oh, he wouldn't take a terrier or any of these other class of dogs, he wants a sheep = one, the collie, don't you know, that he'll gather up sheep.

Dublin

Informant	M.L. (age 59).
Address	Mountjoy Square, Dublin 1.
Date of recording	June 1977.
Interviewer	M.F.

ML: But I = and I went start dealing, as I told you, meself. I remember, the first time I went start dealing, me ol' fellow was there, at the = auction, in Fletcher's. Matter o' fact, Fletcher's is still in the market. They are not the same people, like, the bank is still there.

MF: Yeah.

ML: But err, the fellow named Joe, err, Joe Connolly, he was a bit of a Charlie, you know. When he came in, he bought everything, he was one of these big buyers. And err, me ol' fellow was chasing down = they were lovely apples, there was five barrels, they were = they were beautiful. Beautiful apples. And = would I tell me ol' fellow, and I said we'd = we might get them handy. Oh, I bid eight bob on them. Someone bid nine bob.

MF: Yeah.

ML: I said ten bob, and who comes along, only Joe Connolly. And he looks in, eleven bob. I said twelve bob. Someone else said thirteen, Joe Connolly said fourteen. I know, I run the barrels of apples = up to twenty-five shillings a barrel. And when I came to twenty-five shilling, me ol' fellow was pulling me, and I turned around to Joe Connolly and said, 'Now you can have them, Joe. They are no use to you no more they are to me, at that price!'

MF: [laughs]

ML: Me ol' fellow caught a hold of me, when he = went to Joe Connolly, he'd give me a belt. 'Get up!' And he put me down the end of the market.

MF: [laughs]

ML: 'If that'd be the buy, we'd ha' be' stuck with them,' he said, 'Oh, they killed you, oh, they killed you. Cost twenty-five bob for a barrel of apples!'

MF: [laughs]

ML: 'No way!' You'd get three barrels of apples for twenty-five bob, that time.

MF: Yeah.

ML: But we do = I just done it on Joe Connolly, because he was a bit of a Charlie, as I * told you.

MF: Yeah, * yeah.

ML: But = anyhow, = next load of apples come out, and he [laughs] well, nearly died. I got = I got in, I bought. And I bought five barrels, me ol' fellow said, 'What, what, what, what five barrels, what was the way, what, five, five barrels!?'

MF: [laughs]

ML: Oh, I said, 'Three for you, and two for meself', says I, 'I'm going out on me own.'

MF: [laughs] Yeah.

ML: I remember it as well as happening. Me ol' fellow, I finished that

day = ah and I said, 'The great day, {I'm ?} turn in about three pound.' I came home. The ol' woman said, 'You finished, son?' I said, 'Yes, Ma.' I said, 'What do you have in these?' 'Not in your {hand?}.' The ol' fellow himself just come home, 'I'm jaded, I'm jaded!' It wouldn't be said I was in the pub for an hour, =

MF: Yeah.

ML: after finishing drinking million pints. And the pint was only eight pence a pint that time.

MF: Yeah.

ML: But, he came in and says, 'Are you finished, son?' I said, 'I did, Da.' He says, 'Much did you earn?' I said, 'There's your pound I owe you. And there's a few, that's get you serve a couple of pints.' I said to th'ol' one, 'Here, Ma, here's a half a quid.' 'Ah,' said the ol' one, nearly thought she was, she nearly p' = nearly dropped dead, getting a half a quid off me. She nearly dropped dead. The ol' fellow used to give her two shillings.

MF: [laughs]

ML: He said to me, t' = turned around and said to me, 'The fucker, how did you do that for? You're after ruining me, you're after ruining me!'

MF: [laughs]

ML: So when he went to give her a few bob, she said, 'Here, Paddy, you can keep that and get three pints for it. I want the same off you what I got off your son.'

MF: [laughs]

ML: Oh, we'd = we'd have great times in old Dublin.

APPENDIX 3

DETAILS OF THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

National Library of Ireland (NLI)

NLI MSS 10,081–10, 110: Pakenham-Mahon Papers; 1 letter:

Elli Mahon: Letter to Thomas Mahon Esq. at his house in William Street, Dublin, March 10th, 1741/2

NLI MS 15,784 (here referred to as the Grimshaw Papers): Grimshaw, C., Shipping Agent. Emigrants' letters to…; 14 letters (numbered by M.F.; names, addresses, and dates as in the originals):

No. 1: James Gilgan of Aughris Parrish of templeboy County of Sligo, March 10d[?].. 1864.
No. 2: Martin Dixon, Oldham May 18th 1864.
No. 3: Michael Kililea, Lydecan. Sept. 12th 1865.
No. 4: Bridget Dwyer, Sneem, Kenmare, Co. Kerry, Sept. 16.th 1864.
No. 5: William Fitzgerald, Tallow June 29th 1864.
No. 6: Widow Mary O Boyle (no date).
No. 7: Edward Shaughnesy of Paulstown Conty of Kilkeny ireland, whitehall posteoffice, Paulstown April 4 1864.
No. 8: James monahan, Lancashire, October 18. 1864.
No. 9: Laville in Monraghrory, June the 12 1864.
No. 10: John Kane Derry ane [and?] Magherry, Co armagh Irland June the 30 1864.
No. 11: John Palmer, [Pleck?] feb 3 1864.
No. 12: James Heary Granard Post office (Ballincross), Ano Domino 1866 februrary 2nd.
No. 13: James Connors, Drumond May the 13.th 1864.
No. 14: William Dermady [Dermody?], Mile tree Birr King Co, Ireland (no date).

NLI MS 11,428 (here referred to as the Green Papers): Letters collected by Professor E.R.R. Green; 3 letters (numbered here by M.F.):

No. 1: Mary Lacey, 445 West St, New York, to a relative in Ireland March 24, 1904.
No. 2: Ernest Barnell, an Irish emigrant to New Zealand (no date).
No. 3: P.Casey, 14.11.1892, recounting a voyage from London to the Falkland Islands.

Trinity College Dublin (TCD)

TCD MS 10,435/1–24, etc.: Oldham Papers. Letters from Rossmore, Co. Cork (near Inchigeela) to America (from Nancy and Bridget Oldham to the former's children in America). Nos. 6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24.

No. 6: Nancy Oldham (evidently dictated to, and written in the hand of Bridget, her daughter), addressed to her sons in America. Rossmore June 16th/55.
No. 8: Nancy Oldham (evidently dictated to someone other than Bridget), addressed to her children in America. Rusmore near Inchageela February the 25th 1854.
No. 9: Nancy Oldham (evidently dictated to and, as mentioned at the end of the letter, written by Bridget Oldham, her daughter), addressed to her sons in America. Rosmore December 18th 1854.
No. 12: Nancy Oldham (evidently dictated to and, as mentioned at the end of the letter, written by Bridget O., her daughter), addressed to her sons in America. Rossmore March 14th 1855.
No. 15: Nancy and Bridget Oldham, addressed to the former's sons (perhaps dictated to someone; at least not in Bridget's hand). Rossmore July 22nd 1857.
No. 18: Nancy and Bridget Oldham, addressed to the former's son (in Bridget's hand). Rossmore 20th 1859 [month missing].
No. 19: Nancy and Bridget Oldham, addressed to the former's son (in Bridget's hand). Rossmore January 3rd 1861.
No. 20: Nancy and Bridget Oldham, addressed to the former's son (this letter not in Bridget's hand). December 17th 1861.
No. 21: Nancy and Bridget Oldham, addressed to the former's son Richard Oldham, South Dedham, Massachusetts (in Bridget's hand). Rossmore May 25th 1863.
No. 22: Nancy and Bridget Oldham, addressed to the former's son Richard Oldham, South Dedham, Massachusetts (in Bridget's hand). Rossmore December 21?st [1863 added above the date].
No. 24: Bridget Oldham, addressed to her brothers and sister in America (informing about the death of their mother, Nancy Oldham). Rossmore January 4th 1870.

TCD MS 6,893/1–20 (here referred to as the Deane Papers): Mrs Deane—

emigrants' letters; nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12a, 13, 17 (all addressed to Mrs Ann(e) Deane, Ballaghadareen, Co. Mayo). Mrs McDonagh— emigrants' letters; nos. 19–20 (addressed to Mrs. McDonagh).

No. 1: Catherine Rush, New York [July?] 9th 1872.
No. 2: Catherine Rush, New York March 21st 1872.
No. 3: Catherine Rush, New York November 17/1872.
No. 4: No signature but style of handwriting points to Pat Keenan, author of no. 5, New York Dec 28 1872.
No. 5: Pat Keenan 235 East 54 street New York (no date).
No. 6: Catherine Rush, New York April 1873.
No. 10: James O'Hara, Sunday, July th6, 84 Castle Rock Colorado.
No. 12a: Maria Duffy, Castle Rock 14:12 "92.
No. 13: Maria Duffy, Littleton March the 20th "93.
No. 17: Maria Duffy, Leadville Sept.. the 4 [*th* above the number] "94.
No. 19: No signature (probably a page missing). Americe N. Y__ January.9th.1889.
No. 20: Jennie Durkin c/o Mrs Lefferts 16 hawthorne. ave East [Orng?] New Jersey Amirica N.Y (no date).

TCD MS 7,604/1–81: Arran papers. Original bundle of tenants' petitions to the 4th Earl [of Arran] relating to the estates in Donegal, Mayo & Waterford. 1837— (arranged in alphabetical order). Nos. 56, 57, 64.

No. 56: The petition of John Manick of Cloonglasna (Co. Mayo); addressed to Right Honble the Earl of Aaran. No date.
No. 57: On the same subject-matter as no. 56, but probably written by somebody else from the same locality in Co. Mayo after no. 56; addressed to the R.Honble the Earl of Arran at Carramore. No date.
No. 64: The petition of Daniel Moughan; addressed to the Earl of Arran, although no direct indication about this. Dated Glas[?u]daugh October 31 [*th* above the number].42.

NOTES

2 THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN IRELAND

1 These are areas officially designated as Irish-speaking. According to *The Gaeltacht,* an information booklet on the present-day Irish-speaking areas, the Gaeltacht comprises some coastal areas in the counties of Kerry, Galway, Mayo, and Donegal; it also includes the Aran Islands, the island of Aranmore, and Clear Island. Furthermore, small pockets of Irish-speaking are found in the mountain area of West Cork, on the Waterford coast, and as far east as Co. Meath. The total area covers some 4,800 square kilometres, and it has a population of about 79,000, of whom some three-quarters are Irish-speaking.

3 MAJOR ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF HIBERNO-ENGLISH

1 Cf. Harris (1990:73) on 'contact Englishes', which he defines as 'vernacular varieties of English which have developed in circumstances of large-scale language contact and shift'.
2 I am grateful to Howard B.Clarke of the Department of Medieval History in UCD for making his paper available to me.
3 Foster (1988:117, fn. (i)) describes Dineley [note the spelling] as a traveller and an antiquary, who travelled around Ireland in 1680 and wrote *Observations on a Voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland,* which is evidently the same text as the one referred to by Hogan.
4 Cf. however, the possible objections referred to in Tristram (1997:19–20).

4 DATABASES AND METHODS

1 My thanks are due to Professor Bo Almqvist for permission to use the material collected by the Department, and to Professor Seamas Ó Catháin for his valuable assistance in the choice of the texts. I am also indebted to Mr Tom Munnelly, who collected this material from Clare, and who kindly gave me further information about the persons interviewed and about the linguistic situation in the relevant localities.
2 I am grateful to Mr Vincent J.Bradley, R.T.É. Programmes Administration Manager, for permission to use the two interviews for linguistic purposes.
3 With the exception of one addition to the Kerry material (the interview of C.D. from Caherdaniel), the HE corpus is the same as that used for my doctoral dissertation (see Filppula 1986).
4 Cf. Ihalainen (1976) and (1980), in which a similar 'soft' method of data gathering was used.

5 In this respect, I followed the strategy adopted by the compilers of the Dialectal Part of the Helsinki Corpus, who aimed to collect 'a substantial sample of material from each individual speaker rather than take a great number of shorter passages from several speakers' (see Kytö 1991:4).

6 This methodology was first suggested to me by the late Professor Alan Bliss. The results reported in Filppula (1986 and 1991a) lend considerable support to the existence of this type of continuum.

7 Wagner possibly refers here to the townland of Loher, where I met and also interviewed some native speakers of Irish through the medium of English. That material is not, however, included in the HE corpus, as I restricted this study to those speakers who had English as their first language.

8 I am grateful to Michael Montgomery, pioneer in the use of emigrant letters as a source of linguistic evidence, for bringing Miller's Bibliography to my attention and for giving me other useful information about the available sources.

9 Such were, for example, the diary of a member of the Lucas family farming in the parish of Ruan, barony of Inchiquin, Co. Clare, covering the years 1739 to 1741 (National Library of Ireland MS 14,101), and the diaries of Mary Leadbetter of Ballytore, Co. Kildare, covering the years 1769 to 1789 (National Library of Ireland MS 9,292).

10 An example is a commonplace book in English, with some poems in Irish, written by Tadhg Ó Neachtain in Dublin, 1725–32 (National Library of Ireland MS G. 132).

11 I am grateful to David Fitzpatrick and Cork University Press for permission to quote from these letters.

12 See, e.g. Barbara Hayley's 'Foreword' to William Carleton's *Traits & Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (Hayley 1990) and Kevin Casey's 'Introduction' to John Banim's novel *The Nowlans* (Casey 1992).

13 I remain grateful to the late Ossi Ihalainen, who made the transcripts of these recordings available to me.

14 I wish to thank Mr Ian Spoelstra, Production Coordinator at John Benjamins Publishing Company, for granting me permission to quote examples from Wakelin's book.

15 My thanks are due to Professor Melchers for permission to use the transcripts of the Yorkshire material. I also wish to thank Dr Kirsti Peitsara of the University of Helsinki for making the texts available to me.

16 I wish to express my gratitude to Professor John Barnard, Head of the School of English, who gave me permission to use the SED material, and to Dr Juhani Klemola, who went to some considerable trouble in helping me to access the material.

17 Although my data are mainly drawn from the transcripts, I had the opportunity of checking a number of them against the tapes. The quality of transcription is very good, and there are very few errors or omissions.

18 I wish to acknowledge the help given to me by Professor Alan Thomas and Mr Malcolm Williams.

5 THE NOUN PHRASE

1 It is arguable that the last instance of *the people* in (4) is not generic but specific in its reference. However, there is no question that the other two instances refer to 'people in general', not to any specific group.

2 Terence Dolan (personal communication) points out to me that the definite article could here be used in other varieties of English, too.

3 The Irish name of Sneem is *An tSnáidhm,* which has the article, as do many other Irish place-names (see *An t-Alt:* p. 2).
4 One may here note the absence of instances of expressions such as *the day* or *the year,* which according to Joyce (1910/1988:83–4) are used in Ulster in the sense 'today' and 'this year'.
5 Bliss cites as an example *I had a few jars over the Christmas* (1984a:149).
6 In other contexts, the article is omitted, e.g. *Tá Gaeilge mhaith agat* 'you have good Irish'; *Abair as Gaeilge é* 'say it in Irish' (Christian Brothers 1976:7).
7 My thanks are due to Dónall Ó Baoill for making this material available to me.
8 I am grateful for the native-Irish intuitions offered by Dónall Ó Baoill, who worked through all of my examples and provided me with the Irish equivalents.
9 Cf. Henry's findings based on his Linguistic Survey of Ireland, which suggest a more prominent level of usage of certain nonstandard uses in the north and west of Ireland than in the south and east (see Henry 1958:131).
10 'The environments where it [the definite article] can occur seem to vary from dialect to dialect' (Edwards and Weltens 1985:118).
11 In fact, *EDD* records here only Rutlandshire and Shropshire (*EDD* s.v. *the* 7.).
12 As in *The neer a word had Dickie to say* (*SND* s.v. *the* 7.(3)).
13 Characterised as 'general vernacular' features by Alan Thomas (personal communication).
14 On the other hand, further research into article usage in WE may well uncover new areas of similarity with the other Celtic-influenced varieties.
15 It is noteworthy that all of Mustanoja's examples are prepositional phrases, e.g. *a serteyn {'a certain sum'} by pe weke* (Fifty Wills 3; Mustanoja 1960:255).
16 Note that in the last subperiod alone, the number of instances of *the* and its variant forms amounts to well over 8,000, including all text-types.
17 For explanation of the coding conventions used in the Helsinki Corpus, see Kytö (1991).
18 In fact, the theory makes a distinction between 'small' and 'big' subjects ('subjects' versus 'SUBJECTS'), but that need not concern us here (see Haegeman 1991:205).
19 Although this use was not represented in the HE corpus, I have found similar examples in the additional material from the DIF text archives, e.g. {…} *if you wouldn't do it, theirself'd {the owners of the house} rise and throw it out.* (DIF tex*t* archives; Clare: M.R.).
20 The names of the persons involved have here been replaced by arbitrary letters.
21 The dialectal form *meself* should of course be ignored here. Notice also that I have interpreted *as* as a preposition rather than as a conjunction in this kind of context (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985:337, 360).
22 This feature of Irish is also confirmed by Dónall Ó Baoill (personal communication).
23 There was some variation in the usage of reflexives between H.K. and D.S.. In fact, the latter preferred the simple objective pronoun forms in conjoined-subject contexts, e.g. *He was not a Tiree man at all. Him and his wife was from Inveraray* (SA 1970/93/A/Tiree: D.S.).
24 '[…] offensichtlich im E[nglischen] ungeübt' (Sabban 1982:359–61).
25 There were no instances of UBRs in the focus position of clefts in the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus.
26 One must note, however, that there is some variation in Carleton's use between the personal pronoun and the reflexive forms (with the former being, in fact, more in evidence). E.g. *'"…'tis you that may say that," replies Jack; "but it's myself that's willing to have my head hung up any day,…"'* (William Carleton 1842–44/1990:29).

6 THE VERB PHRASE

1 Cf. Quirk *et al.* (1985: Ch. 10), who discuss subject—verb concord under the heading of 'the simple sentence'.
2 I will henceforth refer to this type simply as the *have* perfect.
3 The unspecified (non-definite) nature of the time reference is best seen from the logical paraphrase of this example, which would be something like 'For any point of time in the past, and also including the present moment, it holds that we lived here'.
4 The operator *do* was also commonly used in responses.
5 There is also a possibility of AmE influence on present-day BrE. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985:185 Note), the preterite is used in BrE as a 'colloquial alternative to the present perfective'.
6 I treat *seen* here as the preterite form. Similar usage is also common in HE dialects.
7 WE behaves differently in this respect. The northern dialects make frequent use of the expanded form (evidently following the Welsh model), e.g. *I have been using it myself* 'I have used it myself'; *we (have) never been extendin' 'em* 'we have never extended them' (Penhallurick 1996:327, 328). The same pattern is also found to some extent in the other dialects of WE, but the preterite has found its way into contexts involving *(n)ever,* as in *Were you ever…?* (Alan Thomas, personal communcation).
8 Example (29) is an obvious exception to this rule for no apparent reason.
9 A third example was found in an earlier letter dating from 1872, sent from Australia by a man who was originally from the Kenmare district of Co. Kerry: {…} *I am after receiving two letters from his son Edward for the first time* (*The O'Sullivan Letters,* No.2, 1872; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994:184).
10 The viability of the AFP in Dublin vernacular is further emphasised by the fact that, although the overall frequencies were small, tokens were recorded from five out of the seven Dubliners. My own 'participant observations' on Dublin speech also confirm the robustness of this feature in the working-class vernacular.
11 This line of argument was suggested by Patricia Kelly in a paper read at the LAGB/IRAAL Spring Meeting, Queen's University of Belfast, May 1989 (see Kelly 1989).
12 Dónall Ó Baoill (personal communication) points out to me that Irish has no parallel construction in which the preposition would be followed by a noun, instead of the usual verbal noun. This means that the HE usage has here 'overgeneralised' the substratal model.
13 This example, as well as the next one, occurred in the speech of D.K., who was the nephew of D.S., the principal HebE informant in this set of recordings.
14 I am grateful to Malcolm Williams (personal communication) for this piece of information.
15 That verbs of perception can indeed occur with the MOP is corroborated by another similar example which I have found in other transcripts kept in the DIF archives: *But sure we have it heard from olden times that they {fairies} were there* (Clare: M.R.). The existence of this pattern in Kerry English is also confirmed by Diarmuid Ó Sé (personal communication).
16 Examples from Carleton are: […] *if you have not this stable cleared out before dusk, your head will be taken off your shoulders this night* (Carleton 1842–44/1990:30); *I have it all planned* (Carleton 1842–44/1990:393).
17 Examples are: *We had no wheat grown in this district for the last two Seasons so that makes the Flour deare* (*The Normile Letters,* No. 15, 1865; quoted from Fitzpatrick 1994: 95); *Robert send {i.e. sent} me one pound a month before you I had an account sent to him when I received your{s} and* {…} (*The Oldham Papers,* No. 18, 1859; TCD MS10435/18).

18 My figures tally precisely with Brinton's count of the conclusive perfects in the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus (see Brinton 1994:150).
19 The last OE subperiod, OE IV, was not included in my study, as OE III is both larger and representative of a wider selection of text types.
20 In Ó Sé's formulation, the actions described by the verb 'remove the object from the control of the subject' (1992:47).
21 There was another instance of *vanish* from the same Clare speaker, found in the additional material obtained from the DIF Text Archives: *That prayer is gone* {…} *is vanished again* (DIF Text Archives/Clare: M.R.).
22 Some of these items pose problems of delimitation. Thus, there is a possible adjectival reading for *withered,* although *fade away* here points to a verbal rather than adjectival sense. Note also the possibility of a passive reading for *worn away and dried*.
23 Forms involving the contracted form *'s* have been excluded from consideration, unless there are sufficient grounds for arguing that the *'s* stands for *is* rather than *has* (as in example (77)).
24 That the BEP is not a prominent feature of WE is also confirmed by Alan Thomas (personal communication).
25 This difference is partially explained by our differing interpretations on the boundaries of the category of the ENP. For Kallen, past tense examples like (91) would not qualify as ENPs (Jeffrey Kallen, personal communication).
26 Visser (1963–1973:739) cites examples of the 'standing phrase' *(He) is dead (and gone) (these eighty years)* from earlier and also modern English, but none of them involves the preposition *with*.
27 In another connection (see p. 110) she uses the term 'perfect of persistent situation'.
28 Note, however, that our methods of calculation are slightly different (see Harris 1984a:317).
29 Like Kallen (1989), I have included imperatives in the discussion, although they could be argued to form a category of their own.
30 Corrigan suggests that there is a difference here between the northern and southern varieties of HE: while elements like the subject may intervene between the auxiliary *do* and the 'aspectual *be* marker' in the former, this is not possible in the latter (Corrigan 1997b:177–8). My example in (113) would seem to undermine that hypothesis, but more evidence is needed to ascertain the status of this type of construction in southern HE.
31 There was a hint of contrastive emphasis on *does,* which may make it different from the others but the prosody did not in this instance give unambiguous clues one way or the other.
32 Note, however, the slight pause between *did* and *relate* in (121), which makes it slightly doubtful as an instance of periphrastic *do*.
33 This dating is also confirmed by O'Rahilly (1932/1976:132).
34 This letter, as well as No. 20 of the same collection, was evidently dictated to somebody acting as scribe for Nancy and Bridget Oldham. Bridget Oldham was, however, able to write and was the author of most of the other letters, including No. 18. She seems to have suffered from recurrent eye trouble, which probably explains the use of a scribe in some of the letters.
35 As mentioned in the previous section, Montgomery notes that 'this suggests a late development of these patterns in Hiberno-English' (Montgomery 1995:35–6).
36 I am grateful to Juhani Klemola for permission to use this map.
37 I can add to this that not even MacFarlane (1922–24), who discusses 'Gaelic elements' in the Lowland Scots dialect of the southwest of Scotland, makes any mention of periphrastic *do* in this variety.

38 As Thomas (1994:135) notes, the simple present *goes* and simple past *went/used to* are also used in WE as alternatives to the expanded forms.
39 Joyce (1910/1988:81) touches on this area, though, when he discusses the use of the forms *do* and *have* in the third-person singular in Waterford and South Wexford.
40 I am indebted to Juhani Klemola for bringing Mustanoja's and Ihalainen's work (to be referred to below) on S-V concord to my attention.
41 The dialect of East Anglia is a well-known exception in that it exhibits complete loss of present-tense verb-endings (see, e.g. Edwards 1993:222).
42 See, however, Montgomery (1997:135–6) for phonological and other explanations which show that these data do not in fact constitute counterexamples to the Subject-Type Constraint.
43 See, however, Henry (1958:143), who has recorded such examples from some southwestern and western dialects.
44 Cf. also Montgomery (1994:83), who discusses what he terms 'Proximity to Subject Constraint' in the Scots system of S-V concord.
45 In a recent paper Juhani Klemola suggests the possibility that the Subject-Type Constraint could have originated in the northern dialects of ME as a result of substratum influence from the Brythonic language of the Britons, which had a similar pattern of concord from at least the sixth century onwards (see Klemola 1998).

7 QUESTIONS, RESPONSES, AND NEGATION

1 The use of echo responses in Irish is confirmed by Dónall Ó Baoill (personal communication).
2 The slight difference between Clare and Kerry may be explained by the somewhat freer discourse structure in the latter and by a greater number of questions seeking clarification on words or meanings. These were more liable to be answered by a simple *yes or no*.
3 Note that those instances in which the interrogative word is (part of) the subject of the subordinate clause are excluded from consideration. They allow no choice in the word order and are thus irrelevant in this connection.
4 I gratefully acknowledge the assistance given to me with regard to these examples by Dónall Ó Baoill, my native Irish informant.
5 There was one instance in the Clare corpus which seemed to reproduce the Irish pattern in all its complexity, including the relative clause structure:

(i) There was arrests about it after, and Ignatius O'Neill and Tom Cleary, and Packo Guerin and I don't know how many more that were arrested.
(Clare: C.O'B.)

6 See also Penhallurick (1991:209–10) for an example recorded from the northern dialects of WE.
7 An exception was the following case in which the choice of the pronoun revealed that it should be understood as a direct question:

(i) And this the record of Iohn, when the Iewes sent Priests and Leuites from Hierusalem, to aske him, Who art thou?
(E2 XX BIBLE AUTHNEW I,1)

8 This stands for 'INFL-to-Complementiser fronting'.
9 McCloskey (1991:297 fn. 33) seems to have had similar reservations in mind when he writes that 'the Hiberno-English case is limited to interrogative contexts in a

way that the typical Verb Second phenomenon is not'. See also A.Henry (1995) for an alternative generative analysis which does not relate embedded inversion in Belfast English to the verb-second constraint but rather reveals some underlying similarities between Belfast English and Irish in this respect.

10 As with article usage discussed in section 5.2, there is a possibility of early Celtic substratum influence on Scottish and even on northern English dialects which deserves to be explored more fully than has hitherto been the case (see Macafee and Ó Baoill 1997 for further discussion).

11 This term is meant as a purely technical description without any prescriptive connotations.

12 There was one case which involved a conjoined subject, which may explain the failure of negative attraction in this particular instance:

(i) He sweated all night, and he didn't sleep a wink, and when he got up in the morning the mother or *anyone* at the house did*n't* know him, he was as grey as a badger.

(Clare: F.K.)

13 The greater freedom of *all* with respect to placement may well be a factor here.

14 This example is in fact ambiguous, as it is not quite clear whether the phrase *any of youse* functions as the subject of *don't touch* or as a parenthetical vocative phrase.

15 There was one occurrence of *all* in a recording from Cornwall:

(i) […] and, er, I worked, er, hedging—ten (?) damned masons, I believe I had ten masons three or four year, but I—*all* these jobs I done do *never* affect me at all. They doctors examined me last year […]

(Gwinear, Cornwall: J.G.; quoted from Wakelin 1986:78.)

8 THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

1 As before, I am using the terms 'sentence' and 'clause' for convenience, bearing in mind the nature of the spoken language data.

2 Cf., however, Preusler's (1956:337–8) view which attributes omission of relatives in English to early Celtic influence. Visser (1955:278) also includes what he calls the 'unintroduced Relative Clause' in his list of the features which may reflect Celtic influence.

3 The first structure {…} *scad is rare to get it now* is also nonstandard on the grounds that *rare* is not among those adjectival complements which in StE allow the movement of the NP to subject position in place of *it* (as in *It is rare to get scad now*) (see Quirk *et al.* 1985:1394).

4 The different realisations of the relative particle need not concern us here.

5 The meaning of 'pro' here is to underline the presence of the pronoun which in these cases assumes the form of the so-called prepositional pronoun.

6 This confirms Joyce's (1910/1988:53) observation that 'the people in general do not make use of *whose*—in fact they do not know how to use it, except at the beginning of a question: […]' At the same time my data cast some doubt on Taniguchi's (1972:38) claim according to which '[i]t goes without saying that "whose" as a relative is often employed by the Irish in spite of [P.W.] Joyce's observation'.

7 See, however, Item IX.9.5 WHO, which provides evidence of the widespread use of omission of the subject relative pronoun.

8 Like some of my data, Odlin's example is drawn from the Text Archives of the Department of Irish Folklore at University College Dublin.

9 These data were made available to me by the late Ossi Ihalainen.

10 See also Corrigan (1997b:306–7), who presents further evidence of non-temporal (including concessive) uses of *and* in the HE dialect of South Armagh.
11 Note that here the question was whether the informant had travelled anywhere in the west of Ireland, but not how many members of his family came from there.
12 Cf. Joyce (1910/1988:33), who gives an example of *but* introducing a nonfinite clause: *As we were walking along what should happen but John to stumble and fall on the road.*
13 Table 8.3 does not give the numbers of rhetorical questions: there were 6 of them, recorded mostly from Wicklow and Dublin.
14 Dónall Ó Baoill (personal communication) informs me that *ach* is the modern Irish form of the older and now archaic form *acht.*
15 These usages are also confirmed by Dónall Ó Baoill (personal communication).
16 This is not to deny the special place and social connotations of *only* in especially Dublin speech, which are aptly described by Flann O'Brien *alias* Myles na Gopaleen in one of his *Cruiskeen Lawn* columns. This is how Myles na Gopaleen approaches the question of the deepest meaning of the conjunction use of *only,* which he takes to be epitomised in the phrase *I wouldn't mind only…:*

> In my former article I tried to expound his [the Dublin Man's] usage of the phrase *I wouldn't mind only*… He accepts unheard-of catastrophes and reverses with complacency. He makes no complaint. Why should he? Because—this was my theory—there is bound to be on the part of his enemy some small breach of etiquette, some trifling departure from decorum, which will entitle the Dublin Man to let loose the full tidal wave of his inner resentment and wrath. Go to his door and, when he opens it, kick him in the stomach. That is quite all right with him. But heaven help you if you bang his gate on your way out. *I wouldn't mind oney he nearly destroyed me gate going out.* (O'Brien 1987:17–18).

9 PREPOSITIONAL USAGE

1 In a recent R.T.É. radio commercial, a well-known Dublin-based bakery advertised its brand of bread by making use of the Irish-derived idiom *when the ocras ('hunger') is on you*… This is an indication of the general awareness of the Irish about the distinctive flavour and Irish background of this use of *on.*
2 This example is perhaps less distinctive than the others and seems possible also in StE.
3 Broderick (1997:133) mentions MxE use of *in it* or just *in* in similar contexts, e.g. *There's a fine day in* 'it is a fine day'. He derives this usage from the corresponding Manx Gaelic pattern involving *ayn* 'in it, in' (see also Barry 1984:176).
4 A search through the EModE part of the Helsinki Corpus yielded no tokens of *die with,* but there was one instance of *starve with (cold and rain).*
5 E.g. {…} *I was sick with the fever and* {*?cough*} (*The Deane Papers,* No. 3, 1872; TCD MS 6,893/3).

10 FOCUSING DEVICES

1 The exact location of the focus may of course be only a part of the italicised phrases, but that need not concern us in this connection.
2 It is interesting to note the absence of this formulation from Quirk *et al.* 1985.
3 The figures in Table 10.1 differ slightly from those given in Filppula (1986). This is explained by the later addition of one interview to the Kerry corpus (C.D. from Caherdaniel).

4 Collins (1991:3 Note) attributes the first use of the term 'clefting' to Otto Jespersen.
5 Ellipsis of the *that*-clause in (30) and initial hesitation of the speaker in (31) should be ignored here.
6 These can have either the present or past participle in focus. Examples are *'Tis settin' some other bit o' work for yez I'll be,…; gone to a thread he was* (Carleton 1842–44/ 1990:392; 63). Carleton also makes frequent use of clefting in contexts in which it does not seem to occur in present-day speech, e.g. *It's he that knew how to handle a spade and a raping-hook*…(1842–44/1990:23).
7 Here my native Irish source was Liam Mac Con Iomaire (see Filppula 1986:164–6).
8 As with clefts, the figures here are slightly different from those reported in Filppula (1986) and (1991a). This is due to the later addition of one speaker (C.D.) to the Kerry subcorpus.
9 At a more general level, it can be argued that the unmarked order of elements in Irish identification sentences would be marked in the corresponding English sentences. Stenson claims herself that for most identification sentences involving two definite common nouns the unmarked order is 'focus first', i.e. one in which the first noun after the copula represents new information and can therefore be considered the predicate (1981:112). In Filppula (1986), this generalisation was tested with a native speaker of Irish, who was asked to supply answers to the question *Which is the leader?,* taking into account the two possible contexts in which this kind of question could occur: 'encoding' ('What person does the leader realise?') versus 'decoding' ('Which person realises the leader?'). He was furthermore asked to use a noun, a proper noun, and a pronoun in his preferred answers. Interestingly, the preferred order in all answers in both types of context was focus first, that is, as shown in (i):

(ia) Is é *an muinteor* an ceannaire.
(COP him *the teacher* the leader)
'*The teacher* is the leader.'

(ib) Is é *Seán* an ceannaire.
(COP him *John* the leader)
'*John* is the leader.'
(ic) Is *tusa* an ceannaire.
(COP *you* the leader)
'*You* are the leader.'

In the corresponding English answers, the focus-first order can be said to be doubtful in the encoding context. It is possible, but on the basis of the evidence discussed in Filppula (1986) a clear minority choice in the decoding type of context at least in educated BrE, whereas in the HE corpus the majority of instances displayed the focus-first order (for detailed statistics, see Filppula 1986:238).

11 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

1 Not all creolists subscribe to this kind of developmental scheme. For example, Mufwene (1997:41, 52) points out that the emergence of creoles in the New World and the Indian Ocean took place without an initial pidgin stage. Similarly, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: Chapter 6) emphasise the possibility of 'abrupt creolisation', i.e. development of a creole without a prior 'crystallised' pidgin stage.
2 One could also here mention Sebba's (1997:16) notion of 'mixed languages', which on his definition constitute one of the (six) possible outcomes of contact between languages. As opposed to pidginisation or creolisation, language mixing— or 'language

intertwining', as Sebba (ibid.) also calls this kind of contact—does not generally involve any loss of grammatical complexity, despite the fact that mixed languages result from the 'grafting on' of the grammar of one language to the vocabulary of another, i.e. from relexification in the way creoles have been said to arise. As one of his examples of mixed languages Sebba discusses the case of Mbugu (also known as Ma'a), spoken by the Mbugu people in Tanzania. Structurally, Mbugu resembles Bantu languages, but its vocabulary is largely Cushitic. According to Sebba, Mbugu, along with other mixed languages, has to be kept apart from pidgins or creoles for the very reason that it does not show morphological or grammatical simplification (Sebba 1997:265–6). The same language is, incidentally, used by Thomason (1997:81–2) as an example of her notion of a bilingual mixed language. By virtue of the complexity of its grammar, HE would be a good candidate for a mixed language, as Sebba defines it, but with strong reservations: it would be too simplistic to say that HE would have arisen through a process of relexification. The superstratal input to HE grammar is so significant that, if the notion of a mixed language were to be applied to HE at all, it would have to be characterised as a 'weak' case of language mixing only.

3 My source here: 'Letters to the Editor', *The Irish Times,* 18th July 1997.

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